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THE BLACK PRESENCE IN THE CANADIAN MOSAIC

A study of Perception and the Practice  
of Discrimination Against Blacks in  
Metropolitan Toronto

Submitted to

THE ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

BY

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September, 1975





## FOREWORD

I welcome this opportunity to express, both on my own behalf and on behalf of the other members of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, appreciation to Dr. Wilson Head for preparing this study of The Black Presence in The Canadian Mosaic.

Initially commissioned by our agency, and thereafter jointly funded by the Commission and the federal Department of the Secretary of State, it follows in a long line of projects undertaken or sponsored by the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The number and quality of the various studies produced demonstrate something of the importance that the Commission attaches to its research and public education function. These studies have proven valuable in stimulating public discussion, in providing information and opinion, and in focusing public attention on areas of need in the field of human rights. In these and similar ways, such studies have helped the Commission and others entrusted with the responsibility of forwarding the principles embodied in the Ontario Human Rights Code to keep abreast of changing human rights needs and thinking in this province. They have also helped the Commission to increase the effectiveness of its activities in conciliation, community relations and public education.

When these reports discuss the nature, function and public perception of the Ontario Human Rights Commission itself, as Dr. Head's study does, such comment is particularly welcome, for by doing so they help the Commission to formulate guidelines and improve programmes for future action.

I believe that everyone interested in human rights within and without Ontario will find this a very useful and stimulating study.

T. H. B. Symons,  
Chairman,  
The Ontario Human Rights Commission.



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## PREFACE

This Study evolved from a concern by the author that Metropolitan Toronto is beginning to experience increasing discrimination and tension between the various racial groups constituting the population of this city. Aside from a few studies on the subject, and reports of incidents by the mass media, there has been little solid documentation of the situation as it actually exists.

This Study is an attempt to describe the attitudes, perceptions, and opinions of a selected sample of black and non-black respondents who replied to questions on this topic.

Our sincere thanks are extended to the numerous respondents, interviewers, coders, etc. without whose co-operation it would not have been possible to conduct the Study. Although the efforts of all are highly appreciated, the untiring efforts and productivity of Mr. Carl James deserve special thanks. The invaluable work of our typist, Mrs. Marjorie Holtby, in typing both drafts of this Report cannot be praised too highly.

Finally, as in most research projects, the research assistant carried the burden of dealing with the many frustrations involved in the administration of a fairly complex research project. Ms. Jeri Lee handled these tasks with remarkable skill and intelligence.

The Study was commissioned by the Ontario Human Rights Commission and supported jointly by a grant from the Department of the Secretary of State and by the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Computer analysis was done by the staff of the Institute of Behaviour Research, York University.

Wilson A. Head



## CHAPTER I

### AN INTRODUCTION

#### 1. General Concerns

There is little doubt that a degree of racial antagonism and hatred against blacks and other visible minorities exists in Canadian society. What is not known is whether or not racism is increasing, remaining stable, or decreasing in Canada, and specifically in Metropolitan Toronto. Certainly any objective study of Canadian history will reveal facts of which many citizens would rather remain unaware. Few Canadians, for example, know that slavery existed in Canada until 1833 when it was abolished throughout the British Empire. This is only three decades before the abolition of slavery in the United States following the Civil War in 1865.

What is obvious to any serious student of racial relationships, or to any casual reader of the daily press is that Canadian racial attitudes and practices are increasingly the subject of discussion and debate. Public meetings, conferences and workshops are continually being held to discuss the problem of prejudice and discrimination in Canadian life. Perhaps this emergence of public concern is not accidental; there is increasing evidence that at least a few out and out racist groups do exist in Canadian society.

The Toronto Star, in its July 22, 1974 issue, carried on its "Insight Page" an extensive coverage of the incidents of racism in Toronto. The story referred to a number of incidents including physical attacks on blacks and the fact that, in the recent municipal elections, one candidate actually ran on an incredible "white power" platform. (See Appendix 1). The Western Guard, an overtly racist organization, recently organized anti-black telephone messages in at least two Ontario cities. If one were to dial a certain number, a recorded message was heard urging (a) a stop to all coloured immigration immediately, (b) that all non-white people, including landed citizens, be repatriated, and (c) a change in marriage laws to guarantee that only marriages of the same or similar racial stocks be permitted, etc. Following the publication of this article, the Star published numbers of letters supporting and attacking the position taken by the Western Guard.

The appearance of "white power", and "keep Canada White" slogans on walls of buildings, and other public places has increased tension and fear among blacks in the city. As a result of these and other activities by racist groups, the black population has become aroused and demanded action. The black press, Contrast and The Islander, has vigourously entered the struggle against this expression of overt racism in Metropolitan Toronto. An examination of the headlines and editorials of these two publications reveals a constant concern with alleged discriminatory treatment by the police, unfair immigration policies and



# Bigots stone office of rights commission again

By JANICE DINEEN  
Star staff writer

Two rocks were thrown through the O'Connor Dr. office window of Ontario's newest human rights commissioner, Bron Armstrong yesterday.

"To the nigger right. commission from the white nationalists," read a message attached to one rock. An imitation ticket to Africa was attached to the other.

The rocks left a gaping hole in the plate-glass window, and angered Armstrong.

"How long are Canadians going to tolerate this sort of thing?" he demanded last night. "It is time for the good, decent people to speak out against these extremist groups."

accuses police  
Cops charged in  
Black bashing

Enough harassment from racists  
Name-calling  
and Racial  
Guard to proud  
Western  
Cops charged in  
Black bashing  
accuses police

The day the cop called  
Debbie a nigger

Blind girl gets window on white world

HOSPITAL BARS BLACK PRESS





practices, discrimination in housing and employment, and great fear of the implications of activities by the Western Guard.

Their concerns are reflected in the following headlines, appearing in these publications during the summer and fall of 1974. "Blacks Fear Police Reprisals", "Cops Charged in Bashing Blacks", and "Blacks Beaten in Bruising Brawl". The daily press may feel that current levels of unemployment and inflation require some brake on immigration, but the black population has stressed its fear that there is inherent racism in proposals to limit immigration, particularly from the poor "Third World Countries". The opinion was expressed in one editorial that "Immigrants (are being) Used as Scapegoats"; another noted the need for a new Immigration Policy, one that does not discriminate against blacks. A result of this fear has been the formation of a new organization, the "Toronto Committee Against Racism".

The records of the Ontario Human Rights Commission in handling complaints related to discrimination, particularly in employment and housing, serve as eloquent testimony to the prevalence of wide-spread racial discrimination in Ontario and including Toronto.

While the press and other media often present a current and impressionistic picture of discrimination and prejudice against racial minorities, this is by no means the full story. The development of sound social policies and programmes for combatting discriminatory treatment requires a more complete analysis of the nature and extent of this phenomenon.

For the purposes of this study, discrimination is defined as:

'observing a difference between";  
'distinguishing from another";  
'making a distinction".

Applied to man these distinctions based on colour or creed may engender unpleasant results.

## 2. Purposes of The Study

Although we begin with the assumption that discrimination exists in Metropolitan Toronto, it is important to know more specifically in which areas this practice is most prevalent. We need to know the percent of the total black population that actually has experienced overt discrimination, what the individual feels about this behaviour, and what action, if any, was taken in response.

We also need information as to how blacks feel about their own identities and organizational structures ... whether they want to participate more actively in general community organizations and agencies, or if they feel that it is necessary to develop their own, and to some extent, withdraw from some contacts with the wider community. We need to know what the ordinary person feels government and voluntary organizations should do about the practice of discrimination.

It is important to find out to what extent younger or older blacks, Canadian born or immigrant, low or middle income, white collar or blue collar workers, agree or differ in their



assessment of the nature of discrimination, and what should be done to combat this practice. We have also included a sample of informed non-black respondents who may provide a different perspective upon these problems.

It is not intended that this Study be an abstract or academic exercise; its intent is to provide valid information on the basis of which individuals, governmental and voluntary organizations can engage in sound planning for effective action to combat and eradicate discriminatory practices in Canadian life. Some of the findings may be critical of influential groups; some may be deemed critical of the black population itself, but an honest examination of all relevant factors is a prerequisite for effective action.

The findings of the Study are presented as objectively as possible and with a minimum of interpretation in the first six Chapters of the Report. The final Chapter presents our own analysis and interpretation of the data and is, therefore, essentially subjective. Other readers may possibly arrive at different conclusions at some points.

We believe that, although it was not possible within time and cost limitations to conduct a truly random sample of Toronto's widely scattered black population, the data is generally valid. The demographic characteristics of our black sample are, in most respects, similar to those of the 1971 census.

As indicated above, the Study is divided into seven Chapters. We begin with a brief historical overview of Blacks in Canada and the black experience in Toronto. Chapter II outlines the general procedures and methods used in the conduct of the Study, including the characteristics of each sub-sample. Chapter III is a presentation of the experiences and attitudes of a selected sample of individuals whom we choose to refer to as community leaders. Chapters IV and V present basic findings and attitudes related to particular aspects of discrimination. Chapter VI discusses personal experiences and perceptions of discrimination in various situations in community life. And finally, Chapter VII presents our summary. Chapter VIII outlines conclusions and recommendations.

### 3. Overview of Blacks in Canada

A history is essential, even a degrading one, to give vital points of reference in psychic time and space. Lennox Brown

#### Early History

Although the black population in Canada has always been statistically small, it is a population which has existed in this country since the early 17th century. Evidence of slavery began to appear in New France as early as 1628 when a young Negro boy<sup>1</sup> was sold for 50 crowns, but it was not until the mid-18th century that the phenomenon was clearly observable.

1. The terms 'blacks' and 'Negroes' are used interchangeably simply because historically the terms 'Negroes' or 'coloured people' were in common usage. More recently the term 'blacks' has been adopted to describe people of African ancestry.



Slavery was considered by many citizens as a necessary solution to the inadequate labour force. According to some reports, slaves were treated fairly well until 1793. But with the decline of French power and the resurgence of English rule, the black slave became a possession who could, if necessary, be exchanged in payment for an outstanding debt.

The slave population at this time consisted of several hundred people living mostly in the Niagara district. There is evidence that many people agreed that slavery should be abolished, but some farmers felt that they needed slaves in order to expand agriculture in the area. During the years immediately following 1793 and also the ending of the American Revolutionary War, settlers from the former colonies came to Canada bringing with them many black slaves.

Britain "protected" its slave population in the northern provinces by the Imperial Act of 1790 which encouraged white immigrants to North America by allowing the importation without tax of "Negroes, household furniture, utensils of husbandry or cloathing", which possessions were not to be sold within a year of entry.<sup>2</sup>.

#### Blacks in the Maritimes

A large group of blacks came to live in the Maritime area as a result of the Loyalist migration. As slaves they were required to clear new land, chop wood for fuel and to build ships.

2. Winks, Robin, The Blacks in Canada, a history, p. 26

In general they were reported to have been treated gently by their masters, living together as families and enjoying some schooling. Indeed many of the Loyalists tended to reject the idea of slavery as they had rejected the life style of their native land. After gaining their freedom, some former slaves continued to work for their masters as apprentices in order to gain specific training. Many later became sharecroppers or tenant farmers for the Loyalists; some became tradesmen - blacksmiths, millwrights, printers, coopers, etc.

Within 20 years, slavery had in effect been eliminated in the Maritimes, but in many instances life was difficult for the freed black man. He was frequently poor, unskilled and unprepared to deal with his new environment. Here then was a candidate ready to be involved in the 'Back to Africa' movements which continued, always in a minor way, through the 19th and 20th centuries. Small migrations from Nova Scotia occurred in 1791-2 and 1800 as blacks sought better opportunities in their return to an Africa they had themselves never seen.

#### The Nineteenth Century

In 1793 legislation was enacted by the first Parliament of Upper Canada (Ontario) prohibiting the further importation of slaves. Slaves at that time were retained but their children were to be freed at age twenty-five. This legislation then did not free a single slave; it was a simple compromise where morality and economy were in conflict.

By the 19th century slavery was being limited by legislative or judicial means and as well by the influence of the news media.

This was happening especially in Lower Canada (Quebec) and Nova Scotia. Final advertisements for slaves occurred in Halifax in 1820, in Quebec in 1821.

Slavery in British North America then fizzled out partly due to legislation and to an indifference on the part of the white community. Morality, economy, and a desire to discard American standards played their part. But mainly the people just didn't require and were unable to support their slaves. Also as more American states were abolishing slavery, blacks were fleeing Canada in order to return to their homeland.

The Imperial Order to abolish slavery in the British Empire occurred in 1833, just 32 years before the end of slavery in the United States in 1865. For many years before that, and in fact for the first 60 years of the 19th century, thousands of refugee slaves came to Canada, mainly by means of the "Underground Railroad". Estimates of the black population in Canada varied from 30,000 to as high as 75,000 during the ten year period of 1850 to 1860.<sup>3</sup>

What was life like for these new settlers in Canada? In many cases the newcomers were lacking in skills and were poverty stricken. Some sought employment in the rural areas near the American border ... Windsor, Sandwich, Buxton, Colchester, Amherstburg, etc. Many others worked as waiters and cooks in hotels, as house servants, bakers, mechanics, blacksmiths, painters, carpenters, shoe-makers, in barbering, carting, and as brakemen on the Great Western Railway. Although these positions were

3. Hill, Daniel, "Negroes in Toronto; a sociological study of a minority group", p. 13.



probably the only ones blacks were qualified to fill initially, one observer states that they sensed discrimination; feeling themselves to be "merely hewers of wood and drawers of water".

Many black refugees, probably freedmen, had brought sufficient means to purchase homes. They built churches, organized benevolent and fraternal organizations, etc. A part of the black community was actively engaged in establishing its own religious and social institutions, in becoming involved in civic and political affairs and in improving its education. Some attended the normal schools; a few even attended university. A few black people became involved in business and professional employment.

#### Racial Attitudes and Practices

By the 1850's, there was a definitive character to the black population in Toronto.

In 1851 there were one thousand blacks, located for the most part in the northwest section - St. John's Ward - of Toronto. (The Toronto Anti-Slavery Society, a group active in aiding black settlement in the city, estimated that 800 of these blacks were fugitive slaves (1852), and Benjamin Drew, a prominent local citizen, stated that 2 percent of Toronto's population was black in 1865.) According to Winks, blacks at this period in time were considered to be "well-dressed, quite clean and interesting ... their houses, patterns of neatness".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>. Winks, Robin, op. cit., p. 247.

Because they had drifted slowly and in small numbers to a prosperous city which could employ them, the blacks in Toronto had been more readily accepted by the general community. Such was not the case in the more southerly cities and towns of the province where the black population expanded rapidly and in larger groups and where the economy was unable to absorb it easily. This resulted in a more systematic discrimination; segregation in housing, and in educational and church activities occurred. Prejudice was most felt in those towns where the blacks were most numerous and the white population was American and not British in origin.

In the southern part of Ontario, Canadians still denied equality to the Negro and continued to allow segregation to occur within the schools and churches, sometimes encouraging separate Negro communities and until World War I separate military units.

During the 1850's city directories specified those businesses and residences which were owned by blacks. Negro employers were no longer allowed to employ whites in some localities. Hotels in cities like Hamilton and Windsor refused entry to black patrons. Socializing was opposed between blacks and whites. Racial humour was popularized by the press. Blacks were held responsible for much of the crime. Each offence involving a black individual was given exaggerated publicity, thus reinforcing the legend.

Black Canadians who had once been regarded as individuals were now being stereotyped by the white community. Racist propaganda appeared although sometimes subtly in popular literature:

The Canadian Brothers described the leading character, a black servant, as "noble, faithful, and simple to a fault". And in Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town, Leacock depicted the Pullman car as it flashed past: "cut glass and snow-white table linen, smiling Negroes and millionaires with napkins at their chins". Race was a subject for study and racist ideas were beginning to take effect. The black person in Canada was no longer disregarded; frequently he was disliked.

In spite of these illustrations of prejudice throughout British North America, the law generally recognized and treated blacks and whites equally. There were, however, exceptions to this general condition. Segregated education was legalized in Ontario in 1849 by a statute which allowed local municipal councils to establish separate schools for Negroes. The Separate Schools Act of 1859 also allowed local officials to establish separate schools for black children when five or more Negroes petitioned for this situation ... a device which gave the white community an excuse to force all blacks into separate schools in certain areas. These schools were uniformly inferior in buildings, equipment and in the qualifications of teachers.

Although the process of closing all Negro schools began in 1910, it was not until 1965 that the last such segregated school was closed in Ontario.<sup>5</sup>

5. Krauter, Joseph F. and Davis, M., "The Other Canadians: Profiles of six minorities".



### The Early Twentieth Century

The years from 1900-1920 then were years when Canadians were very conscious of race - Black, Asian, Indian. They were also years when many blacks were coming to Canada, frequently to the west, in search of improved job opportunities and affordable land.

There was a feeling that the Canadian role was an honourable one in the attack on slavery. Nevertheless at the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865 many blacks had returned to their American homeland, decreasing their Canadian population by almost one-third in 1971.<sup>6</sup> After the Civil War, "When there was no slavery from which he could flee, the Negro ceased to find a welcome and scarcely found toleration".<sup>7</sup> Most of the original fugitives who did remain in Canada had died by 1900. The first census count of the new century enumerated only 17,500 blacks in the Dominion with 13,600 of these under 21 years.<sup>8</sup>

By the beginning of the twentieth century the Negro's characteristics had been more exactly defined in the minds of many Canadians; his 'unreliability', and laziness, his love of pleasure and his strong sexual appetites were well known to the white Canadian who indulged in literature or theatre or gossiped with his neighbours.<sup>9</sup> The myth was also perpetuated that blacks were unsuited to the cold Canadian climate, in spite of the large population that had survived many a maritime winter.

6. Hill, Daniel, op. cit. p. 38

7. Hill, Daniel, ibid p. 39, statement by Ida Grievess

8. Winks, Robin, op. cit. p. 291

9. Winks, Robin, ibid p. 298

Many people felt that if Canada's urban centres were to avoid segregation and ghetto problems the immigrant who was not easily assimilated into the Canadian culture would have to be kept out. Immigration officials turned many blacks back at the borders, enforcing harshly regulations on health, literacy and financial situation.<sup>10</sup> In 1912 the Great North Railway refused to sell tickets to Negroes wanting to come to Canada and visitors, as well as settlers, were denied entry at the frontier.

With the outbreak of World War I, the Canadian government established definite limitations regarding border entry, preventing entrance "to any nationality or race" if "such immigrants were deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions" of Canada or "because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated".<sup>11</sup> Blacks intending to immigrate to Canada were discouraged, and the Negro living in Canada during the war years was virtually excluded when problems of conscription, patriotism and military institutions were the issue.

#### The Years Following World War I

In Toronto 1911, there had been only 468 blacks noted in the census; by 1921 the number was 1236 and most of these were West Indians, largely from Jamaica. They had been brought to Canada during the war. As in the nineteenth century, initially many of them had worked in maritime coal mines, or on ships

10. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 298

11. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 313

tending boilers and furnaces, or on the railway as porters, waiters and chefs. But soon they moved to the cities, particularly Montreal and Toronto and initiated the development of a more heterogeneous black population.

Racism in Canada continued to be a confused issue, confounding even its victims. Unlike South Africa, the United States or Australia, no segregation or discrimination was permitted by law. However, 'de facto' segregation did exist in railroading, clerical employment, trades and so forth. And the Ku Klux Klan was functioning in various parts of the country. Racial barriers were shifting constantly. In London, the mayor supported Negroes by bringing suit against a restaurant that refused to serve them; in Dresden, fifty miles away, they were not allowed to eat with whites. In Windsor, blacks were not admitted to the Boy Scouts or to the YMCA and were forced to organize themselves; in Toronto, they were eligible to join both organizations.<sup>12</sup>.

This uncertainty experienced by the Negro in Canada produced inaction and disunity. In spite of increased numbers, greater mobility and definite cause to organize, there were "so many rationalizations for inaction, so many paths open to division ... especially when prejudice was individual, occasional, uninstitutionalized, and without legal backing".<sup>13</sup>.

12. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 325. Reference is made to many other  
13. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 327 examples



### The Second World War and After

During the 1930's the black living in Canada encountered a dilemma - the United States was the land of greater opportunity - and also the land of obvious segregation. This posed a difficulty because although he might prefer the freedoms of Canada he received no support here against discrimination. There were no vital national organizations, grievance agencies, educational or legislative back-ups.

With the onset of the Second World War, organizations such as the United Negro Improvement Association became more active, and blacks were accepted into the military although generally they were assigned to work on construction developments in the north. The major breakthrough, however, occurred with the strengthening of black labour organizations - the Brotherhood of Railway Workers dropped their racial restrictions and gave full recognition to the union of sleeping car porters, a mainly black group. Many of the porters were West Indians and they were often the originators of a strong activist spirit. In Toronto leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters worked with government institutions to effect change in issues related to discrimination and immigration policy.

Economic expansion after the war increased job opportunities in fields apart from railroading. Discriminatory incidents continued to occur during the 1930's and early 1940's, but as before World War I, without consistency or predictability.

In Toronto the black population was becoming more scattered. Having saved sufficiently, blacks were moving to homes across the city - in Scarborough, North York, and the west end. And the result included a movement away from black organizations and the race consciousness they had developed. Second generation West Indians were no longer certain about whether they wanted to maintain their former cultural values and ways of life or whether they wanted to assume Canadian customs and become assimilated into the larger Canadian society.

During the war and the years following, various governmental acts were passed in Ontario in an effort to curb discriminatory occurrences. Legislation such as the Racial Discrimination Act 1944 prohibited the display of any symbol that might have racial connotations. The Fair Employment Practices Act and the Fair Accommodation Practices Act, both of the 1950's, had been emphasized, particularly by Canadian-born blacks, and constituted the initial formalized attempts to secure freedom and equality for all West Indians, along with newcomers from all over the world, at the same time were striving to open up immigration and in 1958 the Anti-Discrimination Commission was formed to publicize human rights activities in Ontario. This organization later developed into a more powerful Ontario Human Rights Commission (1961) which administered the Human Rights Code, a consolidation of all the fair practice statutes.

The immigration question during the 1950's was of extreme importance as it is at present in Canada. In 1952 an Act was passed empowering the minister to discriminate according to such hazy provisos as "peculiar customs, habits, or modes of life" and "unsuitability having regard to the climatic, economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health", or other considerations.<sup>14</sup> Certainly the government wanted to hand pick those who might be readily assimilated into the Canadian way of life. West Indians were required, then to counteract their 'climatic disabilities' with exceptional qualifications. This point was argued as unfair by members of immigrant groups generally and the reference to climate was removed from the regulations, though not from the minds of many.

#### From 1960 to the Recent Present

Beginning in 1955, the government allowed the annual immigration of one hundred female domestics from Jamaica and Barbados. By 1960 this number had increased to almost three hundred. The effect of this importation is obvious - an increasing female black population, alone and removed from their homes, blacks working once again in a subservient position.

The immigration department initiated the Citizenship Branch, the purpose of which was to educate Canadians concerning the concept and responsibility of living in a pluralistic society. But domestics and students, who were also immigrating in large numbers (3,000 by 1965) from the West Indies and Africa, continued

<sup>14</sup>. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 438



to be treated unfairly by 'the system'.<sup>15.</sup>

In 1962, while Great Britain was in the process of tightening its immigration policy, Canada developed new regulations emphasizing education and skills - considering each prospective immigrant "entirely on his own merit, without regard to race, colour, national origin or the country from which he comes". It should be noted that in Canada these policy revisions were not considered as a victory for blacks, but for immigrants generally. In Canada the black voice alone was not yet strong enough to effect change.

Nevertheless, as a result of these policy changes many, many West Indians applied and came to Canada. In 1966 they made up over three percent of all immigration. By 1969, eight percent of migration to Canada was black - including many teachers, doctors, engineers and journalists. (In the 'seventies' this high influx has persisted.) Throughout the 'sixties' the black/white situation continued to be a major source of contention because of dramatic and outrageous occurrences which were happening on a world wide scale, particularly in Africa and the United States. Examples are the American race riots and the massacres and suppression of black aspirations in South Africa. However as Winks noted:

"In the 1960's white Canadians could not permit pejorative comparisons with the United States. On the whole, Canadians were prepared to do what seemed right by racial relations - even if they

15. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 441-442

had to be embarrassed into doing so. Verbal not physical violence might suffice."<sup>16</sup>.

Unfortunately, since in Canada the blacks were relatively few and widely scattered across the country, it was almost impossible for the black activist to make an effective plea against discriminatory acts which were happening but did not demonstrate a consistent pattern. Grievances remained such with notable exceptions. Most black professionals who might have formed a leadership group with some influence were not organizers; rather they sought quiet acceptance into the Canadian way of life as Canadians if not as black equals.

#### Areas of Settlement

In conformity with the usual immigration patterns in other countries, and particularly in North America, black immigrants to Toronto tended to live in the poorest areas of the city. The west central district (located west of Spadina, east of Dovercourt and south of Bloor) was the initial area of settlement for most black immigrants. This area was characterized by more than its share of family disorganization, unskilled and poorly paid workers, families on welfare, boarders, transients, petty criminals and other marginal individuals and groups.

This area became known as the 'District' and tended to attract new immigrants simply because housing was cheaper and it was possible for many families to live in a single house, thus saving money. The black population of Toronto, like other

16. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 452

immigrant groups, initially settled in close proximity to each other and to begin the process of adaptation to life in a new social milieu.

### The Present Scene

According to Statistics Canada, 1971, the black population of Metropolitan Toronto at that time numbered more than 28,000 individuals (of these more than 12,000 were Canadian-born blacks, and 15,000 were West Indian-born). Two factors should be understood in relation to this number. First it is very likely that the number 28,000 is not an accurate figure ... it is probable that the black population was not adequately enumerated, largely because many individuals who may have entered the country as visitors and then remained, did not want to be counted.

A second reason is a structural one; the Canadian government does not inquire into the racial background of the population. It does ask questions about place of birth, etc. Frequently West Indians come to Canada via Great Britain, other West Indians are classified as East Indians, Chinese, etc. and would not be counted as 'black'. In short, many of the problems of enumeration noted by observers in the 19th century are still operative.

The present (1975) black population of Metropolitan Toronto, including the immigrants who have arrived since 1971, plus natural increases, has been estimated at between 60,000 and 100,000. It should be emphasized that these are only estimates ... there are no fully reliable figures available. This growth,



coupled with the high visibility of blacks, contains the possibilities of difficulties on two levels; first, the problem of the newcomer's adapting himself or herself to the demands of a large metropolitan community, and second, the difficulties which the majority of Euro-Canadians have traditionally experienced in accepting and sharing their material and cultural possessions with highly visible minorities.

Now we are midway through the 1970's. It is a less revolutionary decade in many senses but the problems for blacks remain. Toronto's black population continues to increase and, although generally it seems to be accepted, small numbers persist in challenging the blacks' right to live freely in this country and city. Incidents such as the Paul Smithers' case, recent violence toward certain entertainment groups, the graffiti appearing on subway walls and construction sites, and the second place finish of a Western Guard member in the 1974 mayoralty race in Toronto suggest that discrimination against blacks is a relevant issue and it requires intensive investigation in order to make the future historian's report on the black situation more positive.

## CHAPTER II

### RELEVANT RESEARCH, METHODOLOGY, AND SAMPLE DESCRIPTIONS

#### 1. Research Perspectives

An examination of existing studies of discrimination against blacks and other ethnic groups in Metropolitan Toronto appears, for the most part, to focus largely upon the nature and types of discrimination experienced by these individuals and groups. Among these are studies by Rudolph Helling comparing discrimination against the black, Italian and Chinese populations in Windsor, Ontario, a Study of Discrimination by Franklyn J. Henry in Hamilton, Ontario (Perception of Discrimination Among Negroes and Japanese Canadians in Hamilton), and four studies which look at prejudice and discrimination against blacks in Metropolitan Toronto.

These include:

- (a) a recent study: "The Anglican Ministry among the Black Population of Toronto."
- (b) a study by John Roth for the York Borough Board of Education: "The Students and the Schools."
- (c) an unpublished study by George Brown: "Community Tensions and Conflicts among Youths of Various Ethnic and Racial Backgrounds in Wards 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Downtown Toronto."
- (d) a doctoral thesis by Dr. Daniel Hill, formerly executive director, and later Chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission: "Negroes in Toronto; a sociological study of a minority group."

In addition, a few smaller studies conducted by various black groups have been identified. These usually take the form of academic theses and briefs developed for the purpose of obtaining grants for the support of specific programmes ... the Black Education Project, The Black Community Centre Project, etc.

The Ontario Human Rights Commission regularly publishes Reports referring to the increasing numbers of complaints received and investigated by its staff. It also publishes the results of these investigations, including those which have been resolved to the satisfaction of the complainant.

It is not known, however, with any degree of precision, the extent of grievances experienced by blacks and others who do not file formal complaints with the Commission. While, as indicated above, the number of complaints filed is constantly growing, it is not known to what extent this phenomenon is the result of increasing incidents of discrimination, a greater awareness of the Commission and its efforts, or a more militant attitude on the part of blacks and other "visible" minorities. This Study will include an examination of these questions.

The evidence of black spokesmen, writers on the problems of blacks and the few studies which have been conducted, attest to the relatively high degree of social isolation experienced by many blacks in Metropolitan Toronto. Black writers including Austin Clarke, Lennox Brown, and others have spoken eloquently of their own experiences. For Canadian-born blacks,



discrimination and prejudice have frequently been a lifetime experience; for many West Indian immigrants, they are a relatively new, but equally bitter occurrence.

### The Adult Experience

The Borough of York Study stresses the cultural shock experienced by many West Indian immigrants to Toronto. The immigrant is often viewed as ambitious, skilled, educated and having certain expectations of improving his economic and social status. Helling notes, however, that he often encounters "status dislocation and downward mobility". The failure to achieve his expectations often leads to disillusionment and a need for psychological support from friends and relatives who have preceded him to this country.

In addition the West Indian immigrant faces the added stress of living in a society which cares little for his values and life styles. There are problems for him in relationship to his identification with other Canadians, and with second generation West Indians. He often has, according to Hill, mixed feelings about black organizations, interracial marriages and other black/white relationships. At times, his confusion may lead him to reject the values of his own racial group.

Research studies also indicate that the Canadian black does not escape these problems. Helling, in his "Study of the Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor", notes that blacks experience more discrimination and prejudice than either of the other two groups. Henry, in his Study of

"Perceptions of Discrimination Among Negroes and Japanese Canadians in Hamilton", reaches a similar conclusion. An ominous note is struck when considering that discrimination against blacks has increased as the black population increases in Windsor. Also of significance is the fact that a greater amount of discrimination has been experienced by dark skinned blacks as compared with lighter toned individuals ... reflecting an identification with the dominant white majority population.

#### Problems of the Black Youth

The young black growing up in Canadian society may be torn between his attachment to the concept of a self-sufficient black community and, at the same time, his need to accept the dominant white middle class values and attributes.<sup>17</sup> The absence of significant and consistent discrimination in his association with the white population lessens his motivation to combat racial prejudice and discrimination.

Brown points out that tensions may exist due to frustrations experienced by black youth attending schools which do not understand or appreciate their problems. He cites anxieties relating to "name calling", and to an inability to secure satisfying jobs with good pay. He discusses the difficulties social agencies have in understanding and helping with individual and social problems and the competition for social status. For the young black one result of such conflicts has been the development of an increasing militancy among many of the black youth in Metropolitan Toronto.

<sup>17</sup>. Hill, Daniel, op. cit. p. 349

Another problem situation involves the attitudes of society generally toward interracial dating and other cross racial relationships. This constitutes a source of considerable concern to many West Indian youth and to their parents in what is felt to be a permissive Canadian society. Many black young women are reported to be resentful of militants who voice "black power" during the day, and live "white power" at night ... a reference to the fact that some black males are more interested in relating socially to white women.

#### The Child in the School

The West Indian child, according to the Borough of York Study, experiences a sense of isolation and emotional strain. His parents may migrate to another country and possibly for economic reasons have to leave him behind in the Caribbean. The child is then cared for by relatives or friends. Later, when his parents have become established and are ready to accept him, he is uprooted again and required to journey to a strange country. Here he is then required to make further adjustments perhaps to a crowded high rise apartment, to an inclement climate, or to new family members ... father, mother, brothers or sisters whom he may never have met or may not have seen in several years. Teachers and other children at school may seem remote and unapproachable.

This isolation and alienation sometimes results in anti-social behaviour. Brown notes that school frustrations,



perceptions of prejudice by teachers, name calling and a predilection for instant and physical solutions to racial insults lead directly into difficulties with school authorities and with the police. At the same time, parents generally view success in the school system as of utmost importance. The Helling Study indicates that Windsor schools are seen as the most important vehicle for upward mobility ... 84.0 percent of the black parents wanted their children to get a university education.

The unfulfilled expectations of parents, combined with the difficulties of achieving success in the school system often result in a high 'drop out' rate among West Indian children and frustration and bitterness on the part of both parents and children is then frequently experienced.

These difficulties are little known to most Canadians. Winks reports that in over 50 history texts on the market by 1960, not one published after 1865 makes the slightest reference to Canadian blacks. Hill suggests that in our society there is little recognition of black cultural heroes or models, and that Canadians are generally unaware of the contributions made by blacks to the early history and development of this country.

## 2. Some Questions

Given these circumstances, a number of questions immediately arises. How do blacks and whites relate to one another in a

large urban situation such as we encounter in Toronto? Does the rapid increase in the black population result in an increase in prejudice and discrimination? Can the black immigrants become an integral part of the population without fear of hostility and antagonism? Are blacks subject to less discrimination with the passage of time? Do prejudice and discrimination result in these diverse groups becoming unified and strengthened as a result of outside pressure? Do black immigrants suffer more or less discrimination than native born black Canadians? What are the avenues of redress against discriminatory acts? Does the community care and help? What are the reactions of blacks when subjected to discrimination and hostility? Do they complain to the official government agency, organize to fight back, or do nothing?

These and other questions are the subject of this Study of the perceptions of black and non-black respondents regarding the nature and incidence of discriminatory practices in Metropolitan Toronto.

### 3. The Process Begins

It is important in a study of this type, to obtain as representative a sample as possible of the population to be studied ... the black population of Metroplitan Toronto. We found, after preliminary investigation, that the selection of a truly random sample from the scattered population of the city was prohibitive in both cost and time.

So we settled for developing an extensive list of individuals from the memberships and clients of many organizations and groups ... churches, black newspapers, business and professional groups, civic and cultural groups, recipients of social services, public housing tenants, parents of school children, residents of private housing developments, black clients of an insurance agency, participants in social and recreational agency programmes, and other similar groups. This list produced a total of approximately 4,000 names. Of this total, 210 adult blacks were randomly selected and interviewed during the course of the study.

Although not randomly selected from the total black population, we did make considerable effort to insure that the sample was representative in terms of age, place of birth, income level, downtown vs. suburban place of residence, and other relevant variables.

In order to obtain a variety of points of view relating to discrimination against blacks in Toronto, the design of the Study includes three other sub-samples; a leadership group, a black youth group, and a non-black sample.

#### Numbers of Interviews and Time Allotment

The following Table indicates the numbers of individuals in each of the four samples including those who were interviewed and those who refused.



TABLE 1      TABLE OF COMPLETED AND NOT  
COMPLETED INTERVIEWS

(a) Adult sample	210
(b) Youth sample	54
(c) Non-black sample	53
(d) Leadership sample	32
Total interviews completed	349
(a) Those refusing to be interviewed	61
(b) Those unable to be located	120
Total sample	530

The 317 structured interviews were conducted between February and October 1974. Both black and white interviewers were selected and participated in orientation and training sessions prior to beginning the interviewing process. The thirty-two (32) non-structured interviews were conducted by the Project Director and the Research Assistant between February and April 1974.

Except for the non-structured interviews with the black leadership group, the basic interview schedule, developed by the research team, was, with relevant modifications, used for all interviews. That is, some questions were not pertinent to the non-black group; other questions were added in order to obtain the special perspective of the youth sample.

There were problems in locating and interviewing many of the potential respondents in the adult sample. Some potential interviewees were unable to be found at the listed address;

others could not be located because of incorrect or discontinued telephones and changes of address. On a few occasions, the primary respondent was not available and another adult family member was interviewed.

Many potential interviewees, for various reasons, refused to be interviewed. The reasons voiced included a lack of time, a lack of interest in the project, and a feeling that it was useless to do a study as nothing could be done about discrimination in any case.

However, in a study of this kind, these are not unusual problems; in fact they are almost inevitable.

#### Reactions to the Study by Respondents

It is also important to note that a Study of perceptions of discrimination can be upsetting and anger producing. Many blacks have suffered grievously from the pain and humiliation of either overt or subtle discrimination, and are reluctant to talk about it except when handled in the most sensitive manner. The subject of discrimination is not only important and controversial, it is also personal and sensitive and therefore to be discussed confidentially and seriously. Many of our respondents were, however, remarkably open and good humoured ... laughing and joking about the situations they had encountered as residents of a "democratic society".

#### 4. Characteristics of the Black Adult Sample

The following is a brief description of the black adults who contributed to this discussion of discrimination. It is important to know more specifically who these people are in order to evaluate the representativeness of their views.

##### Age, Sex and Marital Situation

Of the 210 respondents in the black adult group, 110 (52.4 percent) are male and 100 (47.6 percent) are female. A plurality of respondents in this group are between 30 and 39 years of age with the next largest division being from 20-29 years. Thus, it is obvious that for the most part we have talked with younger people - again representing the generally younger black population throughout the city. This situation is due to the present Canadian immigration policy, and the fact that most immigrants from the West Indies have arrived within the last few years.

TABLE 2 AGE OF ADULT BLACK RESPONDENTS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
20-29	65	31.1
30-39	92	44.0
40-49	28	13.4
50-59	15	7.2
60 or over	9	4.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	209	100.0*

\* Note: all tables are computed to the nearest decimal.



Fifty-four percent (114) of the respondents in this group are married; thirty-four percent (72) are single; while 11 percent (23) are either separated, divorced or widowed. A total of one hundred and twenty-eight people are parents and at least 70 have no children.

Socio-Economic Position

(a) Education Level

Seventy-five respondents remained in school only as far as grades 10-12. Another 46 have completed grade 13 or community college and 32.4 percent (i.e. 68 of the respondents) have attended university, 20 percent of these having received a Bachelor's or post graduate degree. A small number have some special training including nursing, teaching, religious and commercial forms of education.

The majority of the respondents (57.1 percent) have studied most recently in Toronto although 15.2 percent completed their educational experience in the West Indies.

<u>TABLE 3</u>	<u>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</u>	
<u>Grade Level</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Less than 6	1	0.5
6-9	8	3.8
10-12	75	35.7
13 or community college	46	21.9
1 or 2 years university	26	12.4
B.A. degree	32	15.2
M.A. or other	10	4.8
Technical-Commercial	3	1.
Special courses	7	3.3

(b) Income Level

The income referred to in this table is the estimated annual income of the household.

<u>TABLE 4</u>		
<u>INCOME LEVEL</u>		
<u>Level</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Under \$3000	7	3.7
\$3000-\$5999	35	18.5
\$6000-\$8999	68	36.0
\$9000-\$11,999	39	20.6
\$12,000-\$14,999	15	7.9
\$15,000 and over	25	13.2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	189	100.0

The modal income level then is \$6,000-\$8,999 with the \$9,000-\$11,999 group next in predominance. The average income (mean) is estimated to be between \$9,000 and \$12,000. Twenty-two percent of the respondents earn under \$6,000 annually and 21.1 percent earn \$12,000 or more. In many instances this income level reflects the fact that both husband and wife are gainfully employed.

Canadian born respondents constitute 14.8 percent of the sample of 189 respondents who replied to questions about income. Of this group, 53.6 percent earn more than \$9,000 annually. Only 38.3 percent of the larger number of West Indian respondents earn in excess of \$9,000.

(c) Occupation of Respondents

A surprisingly large number of respondents (63 or 32.2 percent of the adult black respondents) report that they are employed in professional-managerial, or technical occupations. Clerical workers and skilled craftsmen are also found in sizeable numbers.

<u>TABLE 5</u> <u>TYPES OF OCCUPATION</u>		
<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Professional- managerial	6	3.1
Professional- technical	57	29.1
Clerical	44	22.4
Sales	4	2.0
Service-Recreation	22	11.2
Transportation- Communication	7	3.6
Skilled Crafts	30	15.3
Unskilled labour	4	2.0
Student	16	8.2
Retired	5	2.6
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>
	196	100.0

The small number of unskilled labourers probably under-represents the actual situation - even though Canadian law does encourage the immigration of the younger and better educated individual.



Although the percentages of Canadian blacks (58.0 percent) and West Indian blacks (55.8 percent) working in 'white collar' positions is approximately the same, a greater percentage of West Indians are working in 'blue collar' jobs (34.7 percent) than are Canadian blacks (17.6 percent).

### Cultural Background

A most important variable in the study of the black population is a diversity of cultural background. In preceding chapters we have discussed the arrival in Canada of blacks centuries before Confederation and we have examined the reasons behind their now increasing and now dwindling numbers as the pull towards Canada tightened or loosened through time. There have been during the 1970's, tremendous increases in the immigrant black population. Canadian immigration policy has favoured the strong, the young, the bright, the skilled, and the educated - and we see these characteristics predominating our sample as they represent the black population in Toronto.

<u>TABLE 6</u>		<u>PLACE OF BIRTH</u>
<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Canada	35	16.7
United States	4	1.9
West Indies	150	71.4
Africa	18	8.6
Other	3	1.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	210	100.0

It is evident from the above table and from the proportions of blacks living in Toronto that the majority of our respondents (150 or 71.4 percent) are immigrants from the West Indies.

Most West Indian residents are from Jamaica (54.5 percent); almost 15 percent are from Trinidad-Tobago; 10.7 percent from Guyana; 8.3 percent of the West Indians are from Barbados, and the remaining 11.6 percent from other islands in the West Indies.

The next largest group (35 or 16.7 percent) of respondents are Canadian born. Of this group 65.7 percent were born in Ontario; 28.6 percent were from the Maritimes, while the remaining 5.8 percent were from other regions of Canada.

We feel that the American contingent of only 4 individuals (1.9 percent) is perhaps under-represented. The African numbers (8.6 percent - 18) mainly students temporarily in Canada are somewhat more numerous than might be expected.

#### Length of Residence in Canada

We asked all the blacks who had immigrated to Canada how long they had been living in this country, and in Toronto.

<u>TABLE 7</u>	<u>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA AND TORONTO</u>			
	<u>Canada</u>		<u>Toronto</u>	
<u>Number of Years</u>	<u>Number</u>	- <u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	- <u>Percent</u>
Less than 1	0	0	3	1.7
1-3 years	24	14.0	37	17.8
4-6 years	68	39.5	63	36.2
7-9 years	43	25.0	46	26.4
10 and over	37	21.5	31	17.8
	172	100 0	180	100.0

### Why Choose Canada?

It should be noted that the researchers anticipated that a preference for the more stable racial situation and improved economic opportunity in Canada, and specifically Toronto, would be a consideration in response to this question. However, few respondents indicate that these are indeed their major concerns.

Many new immigrants, 22.4 percent (45), feel that educational opportunities here are advantageous. Others consider a change of environment, 15.9 percent (32), or personal development, 12.9 percent (26), to be the most vital factors. Another 11.4 percent (23) came to Canada for economic reasons and an identical number because they had friends or relatives living here.

### Why Choose Toronto?

Many immigrants, 40.4 percent (74), have come to Toronto specifically because they already have relatives or friends living in this city. Twenty-two (12 percent) feel the economic opportunities here are most advantageous; another 9.8 percent (18) value the educational opportunities available. Other reasons for choosing Toronto are a preference for an urban environment and a belief that Toronto can influence their personal development.

### Length of Residence at Present Address

Stability of residence is considered an important variable in one's knowledge and awareness of the community. We inquired



as to how long each respondent had been living at his/her present address (these figures included Canadian blacks). Most people, 44.3 percent or 93 respondents, have been living at the same location for from 1-3 years; 23.8 percent (50) of the sample have moved to the named address within the last year. An identical percentage have resided at the same place for 4 years or more.

Type of Accommodation

A majority of respondents, 62.7 percent (131), in the black sample live in apartment complexes or flats, particularly the high rise buildings where 43.1 percent (90) reside. The remaining third, 37.3 percent (78), of the sample live either in single family residences, duplexes or town houses.

TABLE 8

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Single Family	59	28.2
Duplex	9	4.3
Low Rise Apartment	29	13.9
High Rise Apartment	90	43.1
Townhouse	10	4.8
Flat	12	5.7
	<hr/> 209	<hr/> 100.0

Most Canadian respondents (60.0 percent) own their own homes. Most West Indian respondents rent; only 23.5 percent report owning their own homes.

### Areas of Residence in Toronto

This table indicates the numbers of blacks in our sample residing in various areas of the city.

<u>TABLE 9</u>	<u>AREAS OF RESIDENCE IN METROPOLITAN TORONTO</u>	
<u>Area</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Downtown	25	11.9
East Central	47	22.4
West Central	65	31.0
Suburbs	69	32.9
Northern Toronto	4	1.9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	210	100.0

Our definitions of these areas are intentionally broad and are as follows:

Downtown:	that area which lies south of Eglinton, east of Spadina and west of the Don Valley;
East Central:	from the Don Valley east to Victoria Park;
West Central:	from Spadina Avenue west to the Humber River;
Northern Toronto:	that area located north of Eglinton, south of the Borough of North York, east of Avenue Road and west of Mt. Pleasant;
Suburbs:	including Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough.

### Plans for Future Residence

We asked those respondents who had immigrated to Canada where they expected to be living five years hence. Half of

those questioned, 49.1 percent (84), hope to remain in Canada. Surprisingly, another 34.5 percent (59) expect to return to their home country. Twenty-seven respondents, 15.8 percent, of the black immigrant population are uncertain as to their future plans. Cross tabulations relating to age, income level and occupation indicate that these factors are not significantly related to their plans.

One hundred and ninety-three respondents commented on whether they felt the majority of black immigrants to Canada plan to remain in Canada or whether they see living in Canada as a short term situation prior to returning to their homeland. Fifty-four percent (104 respondents) feel the majority of immigrants probably plan to stay in Canada; 36.8 percent (71) think that most will return home within the next 5 years. Nine percent (18) are uncertain or have no opinion regarding this question. Interestingly, the percentages are closely related to those who had previously expressed their personal positions on the question.

#### Membership in Voluntary Organizations

Membership in voluntary community organizations is often seen as an indication of community participation, acceptance, and the successful adaptation of newcomers into the general community life. For this reason, we were interested in obtaining some indication of participation both by black newcomers and Canadian born respondents. Some evidence from other studies suggests that, except for the church, blacks infrequently join



and participate in voluntary organizations. For example, the Anglican Church Study found that 70.0 percent of its respondents did not belong to any organization; only 12.0 belonged to one organization.

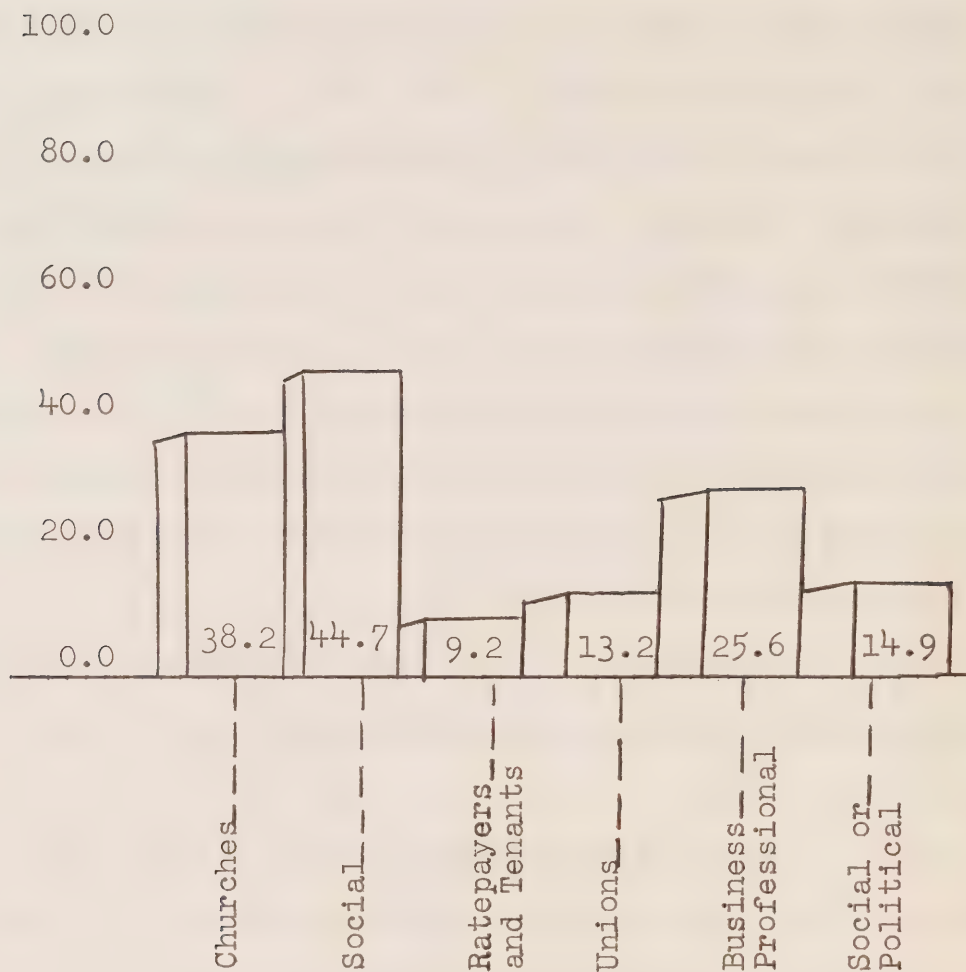
To ascertain how actively our black respondents participate in the community, we inquired as to their membership in organizations and groups in the city. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents (154) in this group are involved in some community activity. Such activities and organizations include church membership, social-recreational organizations, rate-payers' or tenants' groups, labour unions, business or professional associations, and social-political organizations. The high level of involvement is partially explained by the fact that many respondents were secured through their memberships in various organizations.

To 32.1 percent (43) of the respondents, the church is seen as the most vital organization in their lives. Thirty-four percent (45) of the people feel membership in a particular social or recreational group to be most important. Another 16.4 percent (22) of the respondents are particularly involved with a business or professional association. Smaller numbers consider other types of groups to have special significance.

Most respondents, 30 percent (63), who are involved in the community claim membership in only one group or association; 21.4 percent (45) are involved in two organizations; 21

(46) belong to three or more groups. Of these participants in community organizations 61.1 percent (91) attend their primary group on a regular basis.

TABLE 10      MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION



## 5. The Youth Sample

We felt that it was necessary to balance the perceptions of the adult population with those of youth ... those under twenty years of age. We wanted to determine their experiences, their feelings and their concerns relating to discrimination. We wanted the experiences of all types of youth, those engaged in the educational process, and the "street kids" who have dropped out or been "pushed out" of school and who are now either idle or working. We selected a group of fifty-nine (59) youth in this sample, and interviewed a total of fifty-three. Six youth refused to be interviewed, several because of parental objections.

Of the 54 youths comprising our sample 46.3 percent (25) are female and the other 53.7 percent (29) are male. Only one is married and two are parents.

### Educational Experience

And as might be anticipated because of their young ages, 90.6 percent (48) of the respondents are students. The largest proportion (74.1 percent - 40) are students at the Grade 10-12 level.

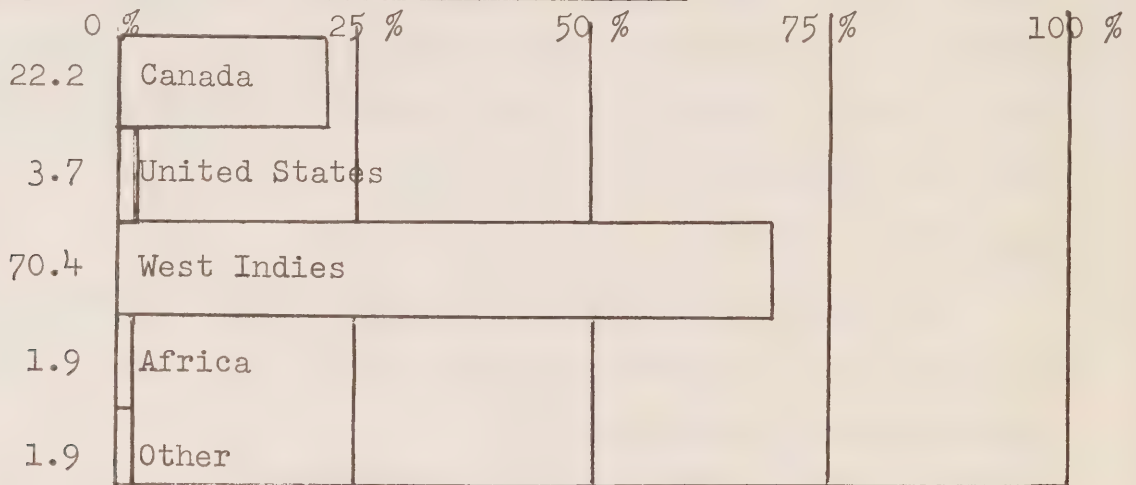
All but one of the respondents in this sample have been studying most recently in Toronto - and therefore we anticipated a fairly accurate appraisal of the school system as seen by the black student.



### Place of Birth and Residence

Since many immigrants from the Islands were compelled for economic or other reasons to leave their young children temporarily 'back home' we again expected to find a high proportion of immigrant youth who would be able to differentiate between growing up in a predominantly white society and in a black majority situation

TABLE 11 PLACE OF BIRTH



The West Indian youths are mainly from Jamaica (32.4 percent - 12) and Trinidad-Tobago (29.7 percent - 11).

All youth immigrants to Canada have come directly to Toronto and the reason for this decision is that family or friends were already living here. Almost half (47.6 percent - 20) have resided here from 4-6 years. Another third of this immigrant group has only lived here from one to three years and thus may have a different perspective on black issues pertinent to youth in the city. The remaining 20 percent of the immigrant youth have lived here a minimum of seven years and several more than ten - again offering a potentially different view.

Twelve (22.2 percent) of the respondents in this group are Canadian born, most having been raised in Ontario, although with slight representation from Quebec, the Maritimes and the Western provinces. Two other respondents (3.7 percent) are from the United States and one (1.9 percent) is African.

Many of the youth (42.6 percent) live in the West Central part of Toronto; 35 percent live either in the downtown or East Central areas. (see definitions) Most (87 percent) are living with their families.

#### Future Residence of Immigrant Youth

Close to one half (42.9 percent or 18) of the immigrant youth plan to return to their home country within the next five years. Equal numbers (28.6 percent - 12) expect to remain in Canada or feel uncertain as to their future residence. On considering the future plans of the majority of immigrants in the next 5 years, 50 percent of the black youth, including Canadian respondents, suggest that immigrants to Canada will remain here.

#### 6. The Non-Black Sample

Neither victims nor potential sufferers in a discussion of discrimination against blacks in Toronto, the 53 respondents here selected were questioned in order to provide a balance, to give an alternate point of view, or to substantiate the attitudes of the more personally involved. They were people chosen because of their attachment to the black community as neighbour,

co-worker, or as persons offering a service to blacks in the area.

The non-black sample include native Canadians, recent immigrants, Italians, Portugese, Greeks, etc. It also includes a few other visible minorities, East Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, etc. It consists of a cross section of occupational and income groups, e.g. white and blue collar workers, students, housewives, educators, etc. A total of 54 non-blacks were chosen to provide this additional perspective.

#### Age, Sex and Marital Situation

Thirty-four (64.2 percent) of the non-black respondents are male and the remaining 35.8 percent (19) are female.

Sixty percent are married and more than half the respondents (57.7 percent) are in the 20-40 year age bracket. Another third are between 40 and 60 years of age.

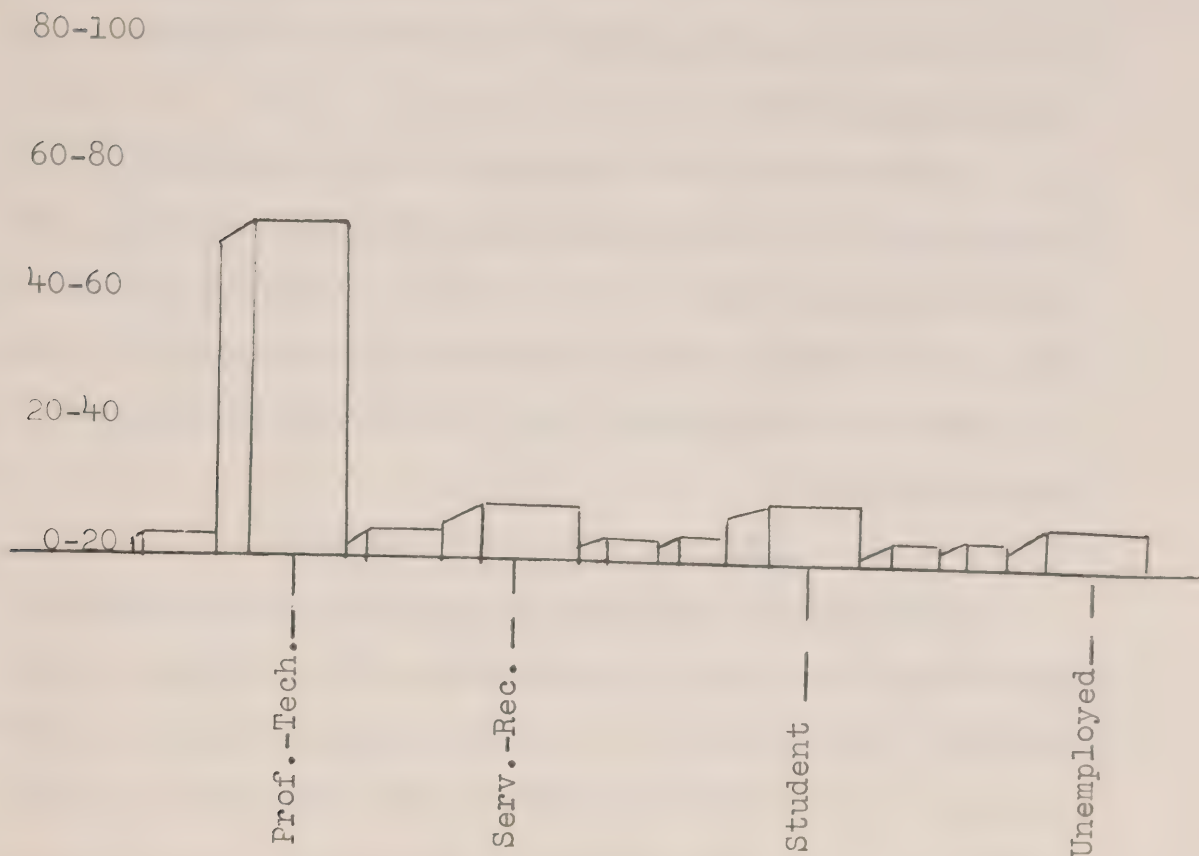
#### Socio-Economic Position

##### (a) Occupational Situation

The largest percentage of respondents, 28 or the 53 or 52.8 percent, work in professional or technical areas. They include teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, writers.



TABLE 12 NON-BLACK OCCUPATIONS



11.3 percent (6) of this group are students and 9.4 percent (5) work in service areas.

(b) Educational Achievement

Almost half of the people in this group have completed a maximum of Grade 13 or Community College and close to 20 percent or 10 respondents have completed one or two years of university. Nearly 30 percent have received their Bachelor degree or advanced academic degree.

Eighty percent of the people stating the place of their most recent education experience indicate Toronto.

(c) Income Levels

Approximately one quarter of the respondents in the non-black group earn between \$9000 and \$12,000 annually. The predominant salary range in this sample, however, is unexpectedly high, 35.6 percent (16) earning \$15,000 minimum. Few are in the lower economic group, only 9 people or 19.9 percent earning less than \$9000.

Place of Birth and Residence

Although the majority of the non-black population, 59.6 percent or 31 of the 53 respondents, are Canadian born, a large variety of nationalities are represented as exist in Toronto society. Non-blacks from Central and South America, the Carribean, European countries such as Spain and Italy, Chinese respondents - all help to generate additional perspectives on the issues, since they too are from minorities and on occasion are obliged to deal with certain similar situations.

Most of the Canadian born respondents, 83.9 percent (26), are originally from Ontario with small representation also from the Maritimes and the Western provinces.

Of the twenty-two non-blacks who have immigrated to Canada, over 60 percent (10) have lived in this country for a minimum of 7 years and most have resided here for more than a decade. Eighty-one percent (13) have lived in Toronto for at least 4 years and 5 of these for 10 years or more.

Therefore we have reached a group of people, diverse in economic, social, and cultural background, but a people who have a definite sense of Toronto and the changes which have occurred due to the recent increase in black immigration.

Nearly three-quarters, 73.5 percent (39), of this subgroup are residents of the central part of Metropolitan Toronto - from Victoria Park to the Humber River; and of these 30 or 76.9 percent live in the West Central area defined by Spadina Ave. on the east and having the Humber River as western boundary.

Twenty-four have moved within the past year. Thus we have the opportunity to learn the points of view of recent residents in a particular area and those 'old timers' who have seen growth and change within their neighbourhood.

## 7. 'Community Leaders'

In addition to these three groups, we also thought that it was extremely important to interview blacks in the community who could provide a highly knowledgeable and insightful view of the problems of the black population. For purposes of identification we refer to these respondents as 'community leaders' though, as will be noted in an examination of the data, a lack of both community and leader is a serious problem and one to be dealt with. Recognizing the difficulties of selecting highly knowledgeable leaders from those who were leaders in name only, we chose to use the 'reputational method' of selection, i.e.



we asked twenty-five (25) people active in the various black organizations, social and recreational workers with youth, church leaders, representatives from organized labour, and other individuals to submit names of the fifteen people they considered most knowledgeable in the black population.

Twenty-one of the twenty-five responded. We chose the 33 names which were mentioned most frequently by our respondents. One individual refused to be interviewed; the other 32 community leaders were engaged in non-structured interviews during the course of the study.

Most of the Canadian born leadership group were born in Ontario with only one or two having come from other sections of the country. The West Indian group are almost equally split between Jamaicans and Trinidadians and includes several Guyanese.

Canada	13
West Indies	17
United States	2
<hr/>	
Total	32

Depending upon definitions, from 18 to 20 of these respondents can be classified as "professionals". This group includes lawyers, doctors, university professors, social workers and selected representatives from the clergy, a professional planner, a research scientist, a consultant, etc. The remainder of this sample is composed of prominent business

men, a few housewives involved in a variety of community activities, two students, civil servants and labour leaders.

#### 8. The Process Continues

Coding began when it was apparent that interviewing could be completed within a few weeks. Frequent meetings were held with the coders to check coding decisions ... a necessary task because of the large number of 'open ended' questions. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.) was used for data analysis. This analysis included an examination of the cross tabulations of many different variables ... place of birth, age, income level, occupation, etc. were related to the numbers of instances of discrimination, personal attitudes toward incidents of discrimination, satisfaction with the area of residence and attitudes toward black/white relationships, etc.

### CHAPTER III

#### EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE BLACK LEADERSHIP GROUP

This sample includes individuals from a wide variety of backgrounds and philosophies. Some have been involved in civil rights activities for many years in Canada, the United States and in the West Indies. Others are relatively younger and have been involved for only a few years. In general, the Canadian born respondents have been active in the struggle against discrimination in the city for a longer period of time simply because most of them have lived in Metropolitan Toronto much longer than most West Indians.

##### 1. Involvement in Community

Involvement in non-discriminatory activities and practices and efforts to secure the rights of the black minority are documented in the lives and histories of these respondents. In general, older respondents were primarily fighting discrimination in theatres, hotels, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation. Many of these respondents also worked to secure changes in legislation affecting discriminatory practices, for example, the act which created the Ontario Human Rights Commission. They have also been active



in a number of the older human rights organizations in the community.

The younger respondents in this group, both Canadian and West Indian, are more likely to be found in activist types of community organizations. These are the young men and women who are providing much of the impetus for maintaining a sense of black identity, a pride in being black and an unwillingness to rely upon established agencies and organizations for bringing about change. The Black Education Project is an example of this orientation.

However, non-traditional methods of struggling against discriminatory practices are not restricted to the young. Two of the lawyers in the sample are very actively involved in fighting alleged discriminatory practices in the field of immigration. Other individuals are working to establish a greater degree of unity among the various groups which constitute the black population.

A list of seven questions was asked of these respondents in non-structured interviews. These interviews were conducted by the Director of the Project and the Research Assistant.

## 2. Perceptions of Important Areas of Discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto

Respondents were asked if they felt that there was discrimination against blacks in Metropolitan Toronto and if so,

in what areas. There is a unanimous feeling among these respondents that some degree of discrimination exists against blacks in all areas of community life. The area of employment is mentioned by 21 respondents as the most important area of discrimination; seven other respondents stress employment as an important issue but secondary to other areas of discrimination.

<u>TABLE 13 AREAS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACKS</u>			
<u>Area of Discrimination</u>	<u>Most Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Total No. Responses</u>
Employment	21	7	28
Housing	4	9	13
Education	5	7	12
Immigration	4	2	6
Police Activities	1	7	8
Others (hospitals, the media, com- munity agencies etc.	0	8	8
	—	—	—
	35	40	75

It will be noted that some respondents indicate more than one area as either 'most important' or 'important'. Thus the total number of responses is greater than the actual number of respondents.

(a) Employment Situations

Several respondents describe the rejection faced when applying for jobs. Others mention the difficulties blacks

have in getting promotions. The demand for "Canadian Experience" by numerous employers is mentioned by many respondents as severely restricting employment opportunities for blacks. (This restriction has also been noted for non-black immigrants in several other studies.)

Some respondents indicate that there is more discrimination at higher levels of employment than at the lower levels, i.e. supervisory positions, etc. In upper echelon jobs, discrimination is practised even when qualifications are equal. One Canadian employment agency is reported as actually noting on its files that the employer wants only "peaches and cream" workers, a synonym for "white only". Discriminatory practices by some unions are also reported by respondents. This mentioned that black women are the objects of a great deal of official and unofficial racism.

Three respondents indicate that job discrimination and other forms of discrimination are damaging to the self concept of the individual. They point out that blacks must be better and work harder than whites in order to hold a job. "Blacks must always prove themselves, they must do a superior job, and this has a psychic effect upon the individual." For some this may lead to involvement in crime or other anti-social behaviour.

As indicated above the problem of unequal opportunity for acquiring and receiving promotions in employment are of great concern to many of the respondents in this Study. A few,



however, temper their reactions by pointing out that some blacks are partly to blame for their lack of employment opportunities. These respondents emphasize that sometimes blacks do not apply for the better jobs, they are not well qualified for some openings, and they are not as aggressive or assertive as they might be. One respondent notes that some blacks, in a position to hire other blacks, will not do so.

There is also an indication, at least by a few respondents, that the situation regarding job discrimination in Toronto is improving. This improvement is related to the higher levels of education being achieved by young blacks.

(b) Housing

The second important area of discrimination discussed by our respondents relates to the problems associated with finding a house. While not as many respondents mentioned discrimination in housing as in employment, this area is considered significant by a sizeable number.

It is suggested that while blacks in the lower socioeconomic groups have problems in rental housing, "it is not difficult to get adequate housing if you can afford it". Within this sample there is a fairly widespread feeling that discrimination is decreasing in the area of housing. Some respondents indicate that this decrease is due to the fact that many landlords are black and will rent to black tenants.

Others feel that there is a general increase in liberal attitudes in the community and that people are more willing to accommodate blacks.

One respondent states that there is a great deal of discrimination in rooming houses. "Where three buildings are owned by one person, most blacks will be given rooms in only one and that one will be in the poorest conditions."

Other respondents indicate that there is less housing discrimination because of the efforts of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Landlords are increasingly aware of the legislation and it is suggested that some do "try to avoid the hassles, but offer fewer services". According to the respondents, however, the task is incomplete; serious areas of discrimination still exist in rooming housing, flats, and apartment buildings.

(c) Education

Education is the third area in which it is felt by some respondents that discrimination exists. Although not as frequently mentioned as is the area of job opportunities, these respondents appear to feel even more strongly about perceived discrimination in education. Black youth, and particularly West Indian youth, are, according to these respondents, being denied equality of educational opportunity in Toronto schools.

Some respondents suggest that black students must work harder and write better essays than white students in order to

get decent grades. Others emphasize that differential treatment is related to the patterns of discrimination which exist outside of the school. Teachers, it seems, often have lower expectations of black students.

The process of "streaming" in which students are channeled into vocational rather than academic classes is attacked. It is felt that many black students who are capable academically are directed into vocational courses. In a similar manner, there has been a tendency to associate black students, again especially West Indians, with slow learners. (One respondent feels that all immigrants suffer to some extent from this tendency.) This may lead to increased hostility to the schools and to militant behaviour.

Another aspect of educational discrimination perceived by our respondents is the denial of self respect and racial identity which present practices encourage. Respondents complain about the lack of teaching of black culture, black history and of black contributions to the Canadian scene. As a result, black students are not aware of their own heritage and history. Considerable resentment is expressed about the lack of attention to black history, or the biased materials in school text-books.

The school system is viewed by some respondents as "degrading and racist". The teaching process "leads black youth to despise their own families, their hair styles,



colour, etc." This in turn leads to "broken ambitions and initiative. Then the blacks are blamed for not achieving".

One person reports that he believes the schools should be responsible for promoting greater understanding about racial differences among students. The schools should deal with problems before they explode and kids get into trouble with the police.

(d) Immigration

Perceptions of discrimination in immigration policies and practices elicit strong feelings among a small number of respondents in this Study. Racist attitudes are seen as the only explanation for the present policies of the federal government in keeping many blacks out of the country ... or in deporting blacks who may not have entered the country as landed immigrants. These attitudes are said to be reflected in incidents of harassment of black visitors and immigrants at the airport, invidious stereotyping of blacks by police officers, and other similar practices.

Respondents point out that it is obvious racism "when a black must prove that he comes to the country as a visitor" ... the opposite of the situation a Canadian encounters when he travels to another country. Black travellers are said to be frequently detained in jail when it is suspected that they may be planning to remain in the country. The only purpose of such behaviour, according to one respondent, is to

discourage black immigrants. Another respondent feels that the present selection policy of the government ... i.e. the point system, is "tantamount to out and out racism ... a method of keeping the unskilled black out of the country".

These attitudes are particularly significant in view of the furore over the publication of the government's "Green Paper" on immigration ... a document which the Minister of Manpower and Immigration has stated is designed to obtain the views of Canadians regarding new immigration policies in the future.

The interviews with community leaders were conducted in 1974, and before the publication of the Green Paper. However, it has already elicited a great deal of heated discussion ... particularly around some of its assertions relating current social and economic problems to the characteristics of immigrants. Among these are references to the "novel and distinctive features" of some new immigrants, and the suggestion that "newcomers may too easily become the focus of antagonisms and frustrations". Blacks and other immigrants are not likely to accept responsibility for the failure of Canadians to solve their long standing problems of poverty, social inequalities, unemployment, inadequate housing, and other difficulties encountered in modern industrial societies.

A few respondents in this sample are concerned with the arrival of some West Indian immigrants whom they consider to be

of dubious character. They fear that the introduction of "criminal types" may lead to community reaction and repression. Others face a cruel dilemma, feeling that immigration policies should be open and non racist, but fearing that if the numbers of West Indians continue to increase drastically, the Canadian community will become as hostile and oppressive as that of the United States. Because of their worries about white attitudes towards blacks, three respondents favour a restrictive immigration policy in order to allow "things to settle down".

(e) Law Enforcement

The police and the courts receive their share of attention by our respondents. While only one person indicates discrimination by the courts is the most important area of discrimination, seven others report it to be of some importance. Complaints focus around three issues, (a) stereotyped attitudes, (b) harassment of blacks, and (c) alleged injustice in the courts.

It is felt that the police often reflect W.A.S.P. attitudes and negative stereotyping of blacks and that they tend to associate all blacks with criminals. They tend to be suspicious of groups of blacks, particularly youth on the streets. This attitude has resulted in a great deal of hostility in the black population.

The police are accused of continuous harassment of blacks. Some policemen are known to have engaged in "name



calling", in the inappropriate treatment of blacks; for example, charging a man for illegal parking when he has stopped to change a tire. Secondly, one respondent in this group was recently stopped by the police

"After I protested at being told to 'get your ass home', the officer threatened to charge me with impaired driving. When I pointed out that I wasn't drinking he said he could charge me with careless driving. This is a discretionary charge. I was alone and, man, did I ever get my ass home."

Blacks are often stopped by police who are looking for illegal immigrants. One respondent feels that these activities reflect departmental policy since apparently the policeman is not reprimanded for the offense.

Again many blacks are alleged to have been stopped and hassled because they drive big cars. The police want to know "where did they get the money to buy these cars". The assumption is that no black should drive a big car unless he is engaged in criminal activity.

Some of our respondents report that they feel there is a disproportionate number of convictions for traffic offenses involving blacks in the courts. There is a feeling of injustice in sentencing and fines; blacks according to these respondents, tend to get harsher sentences than do the whites convicted for the same crime. Whether or not they are actually borne out, some black leaders feel that these practices are designed to

keep blacks out of Canada, and to discourage them from being seen too frequently in the downtown areas.

(f) Other Areas of Discrimination

A few respondents feel that discrimination also occurs in such areas of community life as commercial agencies, social agencies, hospitals and in the mass media. For example, one respondent reports that some finance agencies make it difficult for small businesses owned by blacks to obtain loans. Blacks are not seen by these institutions as being oriented toward business and, therefore, are not considered good credit risks. Other large businesses refuse to employ blacks in their ads alleging that there are insufficient numbers of blacks in the city to justify their use.

Another respondent believes that serious problems exist in connection with medical and health services. He feels that present health services do not serve the needs and requirements of the black population and, as a result, physical and mental problems arise. Still another respondent considers the mass media (radio, television, newspapers, etc.) as tending to foment prejudice. Also, while the government officially opposes South Africa and its racist policies, it continues to support those regimes by trade.

In summary, respondents in this sample believe that discrimination exists in various degrees in all aspects of

community life. There is evidence that it is decreasing in certain areas, such as housing and places of public accommodation, but it is generally felt that racism is still a potent factor in Canadian life.

### 3. Personal Experiences

The great majority of respondents in this sample of 32 community leaders report having been subjected to discrimination in their own personal lives. Only five indicate that they have never been victims of discrimination. Of these, one is self employed and has experienced no problems; another who had been refused employment feels that it may have been a question of his age; a third states that he has experienced only a "reverse discrimination", i.e. he had been given superior treatment because he was black.

A fourth respondent, a student, handles the question of discrimination in housing by always informing the prospective landlord beforehand by telephone that he is black. The final respondent in this group feels that subtle discrimination exists in many areas of community life, but that he, personally, has never experienced it. However, he reports that his parents had experienced a considerable amount of discrimination.

The story is quite different for that group of 27 respondents who have encountered discriminatory situations. For most, it occurred in the area of employment. But there was



also a surprising amount of social discrimination ... that is, in the choice and selection of friends, in dating, and in social gatherings. Some of the stories recounted experiences of determination and courage, others were humorous; all spoke volumes of man's inhumanity to man in an affluent society.

In general, the Canadian born respondents have reported more instances of discriminatory treatment than have West Indians. They had been born and grown up in Canada and, therefore, had had a longer history of discriminatory treatment. Many of these respondents could look back upon earlier experiences with some degree of detachment. For many West Indians, however, the type of discrimination practised in Canada is a relatively new experience and results in a more pronounced attitude of bitterness and militancy.

Examples:

It should be kept in mind that the following examples were reported as having occurred over a period of 10-20 years.

One respondent, Canadian born, relates that during his youth his only possibility for work was on the railroad. He had applied for a position as a radio announcer, but was merely laughed at by the employer. He laughed back; what else could he do?

Another respondent, with a degree in business, was unable to get a job for which he was qualified in a local university. He also had a very difficult time in finding

employment in the business world. One of the largest department stores in Toronto had an opening in its finance department but he was refused the position when he arrived and was seen to be black.

Several Canadian born blacks, applying for jobs in industry, report they have been told "Your people are porters" ... as if that was the only job blacks were capable of doing. Applications, when taken, were continually lost. A respondent who had completed a course in welding was told that he had wasted his time; he would not be given a job in any firm.

Most of our respondents report that the incidents of discrimination they have encountered, whether in the distant past or more recently, have had some effect upon their careers. With some private employers and in some government agencies, there is a marked reluctance to interview well qualified black applicants, and when they are interviewed, they are rarely offered employment.

Aside from a lack of opportunity for employment in various desirable jobs, some respondents also feel that promotional opportunities are quite limited even when they do find employment. A few respondents who, after persistent effort, have finally obtained good jobs have, in some instances, been accused by white workers of taking "white" jobs.

Practically all of the Canadian born black leaders report having been refused jobs during their younger years at the

large chain department and grocery stores. Yet some persisted and were finally able to find part time employment.

Apparently the variety of employment was somewhat better for women in that they could be hired in domestic and other service situations - working in homes, restaurants, and the hospitals. Canada still imports black women from the West Indies to work for those able to afford the luxury of full time domestic help.

In schools, many blacks faced social discrimination. The white girls refused to dance with them. In some instances only Jewish people would rent rooms to these students.

Some respondents tell stories of insurance companies refusing to sell them insurance. Many black professionals have had their credentials challenged; some salespeople do not believe that a black person can be a doctor or a lawyer.

#### 4. Effects of Discrimination Upon the Black Population

It is important to note that the concept "black community" is the subject of widespread disagreement. Some respondents speak of the "black community" as an ethnic group; others appear to feel that it can be described as a nationalistic concept. But most respondents simply do not believe that a "black community" exists, at least in Metropolitan Toronto. These respondents indicate that the black population is fragmented, isolated, divided into several groups and alienated from the general community.



Many respondents feel divisiveness and lack of unity are a direct effect of discriminatory practices which undermine efforts to develop a viable community. Discrimination, according to these respondents, destroys initiative and the self confidence necessary for building organizations and programmes. Instead, much effort is directed toward fighting prejudice and discrimination, leaving little time and energy for constructive action.

Some respondents feel that much of the effect of discrimination is psychological. The father, unable to get a job because of discriminatory practices, loses face with his family and often becomes apathetic and bitter. His weakened self image and loss of self respect may result in his leaving the home and abandoning his family.

Other respondents feel that discrimination in the wider community and in schools is leading youth to drop out of society, or to react with confrontation tactics to discriminatory practices. Some West Indians, bitter and disillusioned with Canadian racism, are reported to be returning to the Islands.

Racism in Canadian society has led many blacks to the conclusion that the only way they can enjoy decent opportunities for social, recreational and cultural activities and reduce prejudice between different black groups is to build their own community centre. A project of this type has been under

consideration for several years. Attempts are currently being made to obtain the necessary funds to establish a Black Community Centre in Toronto.

#### 5. Effectiveness of Community Agencies

We were interested in ascertaining what the black leadership feels about the role of various community agencies and organizations - social, educational, religious, commercial, cultural, etc. - in meeting the needs of the black community. Respondents are very divided on this question. Some suggest that most community agencies are doing a fairly good job, and, with some additional input from the black community, can improve the effectiveness of their services. Others think that no general community agency can possibly meet the needs of blacks ... only black controlled community agencies can effectively serve blacks. A third group is concerned with integration and feels that blacks should become more involved working in and changing community agencies. There should be more black teachers, social workers, policemen, doctors, nurses, etc.

It is stated that some community agencies are not trusted by blacks in spite of their attempts to help them. The Harriet Tubman Centre, a centre serving West Indian youth but sponsored by the Y.M.C.A. is noted as one agency doing an effective job. It is suggested, however, that it might be more appropriate to the needs of blacks if it were being financed and controlled by them.

The Children's Aid Societies and social workers generally are fairly highly regarded, but according to our respondents, they require more orientation to the specific needs of blacks. Some workers are reported as being quick to label blacks as "aggressive and paranoid" and to criticize the dress, gestures and language of West Indian youth. It is felt that qualified blacks might appropriately aid in the orientation of these agency workers.

Some respondents also believe that school counsellors and school social workers are afraid to deal with "blackness". Black kids get into trouble, some become delinquent, and school principals deny this reality. On the other hand, some agencies, i.e. St. Christopher House, the International Institute (an agency formerly serving the immigrant population but recently closed because of lack of support), and the Inter-Agency Council, receive commendation from some of our respondents.

In general, government agencies, particularly Canada Manpower, are highly criticized by our respondents. Manpower is viewed as filtering black applicants into low paying jobs. Some respondents state that Manpower "breeds discrimination ... it sends people to job interviews where it is known they will not be hired".

A few respondents are disillusioned and cynical about government agencies in general. For example, some report that



governmental agencies have "the sole purpose of suppressing blacks" a statement which reflects the extreme bitterness felt by these individuals. Others feel that these agencies will not do much for blacks unless there is strong community pressure.

#### Role of Black Community Agencies

It is recognized that, while there may be some need for black operated and controlled community agencies, there is little likelihood of the black community providing adequate financial support for such programmes. One of the founders of the Black Community Centre Project now feels that its survival is not possible simply because of the divisiveness within the black population.

Other black groups, the National Black Coalition, the Black Education Project, and the various Island organizations are recognized as useful but are unable to provide the services and programmes needed by the total black community. There is considerable criticism of the programmes of some black organizations. It is felt that there is too much emphasis upon dinners, dances, and commercial projects. These respondents feel that black organizations should be more fully engaged in providing needed services to black youth and to the community generally. Such services would include help with housing, jobs, education, recreational and cultural programmes for youth, visits to black prisoners in jails, and to inmates in mental hospitals, etc.

## 6. Attitudes Toward The Ontario Human Rights Commission

Although we did not ask a question about specific community agencies, we did think it important to inquire what community leaders felt about the work of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, an official agency funded by the Government of Ontario. Responses are quite varied, ranging from "it's doing a wonderful job" to "it's ineffective, slow to move, powerless and limited in its efforts".

Some respondents express a great deal of confidence in the Commission and especially in its former executive director and chairman. Its record in fighting discrimination in housing is highly acclaimed by some respondents. It is also noted that these results are accomplished in spite of certain limitations.

The most serious criticism leveled against the Commission, however, is its status as a government agency. Many respondents feel that no government agency can be expected to do very much i.e. it cannot "attack the practices of another government agency", it is "good in theory but weakened by being a government agency", and it is "not effective but serves to tell blacks that they are being shafted".

## 7. Black Leadership

Our questions about black leadership evoked the widest differences of opinion of any asked. The responses vary from "there are no real leaders in the black community and none

are needed at this time", to "there are lots of leaders, but not enough followers" and finally to "there is some black leadership, but it is inadequate and out of touch with the real issues".

There is some feeling that a need for younger leaders exists and that many people, and particularly the youth, are awaiting an issue-oriented leadership. Other respondents feel that some of the former and present younger leaders are too ideological and that a conservative black community is not ready for this type of leadership.

Some respondents are angry at what they feel to be "exploitative leadership" in the black population. They state that some former leaders have been manipulative of the youth, suggesting to them that it is o.k. to hate and even to steal from whites because blacks have been exploited by the majority group.

Discontent is expressed by younger respondents who feel that many black professionals have worked hard but later moved out of the black community, thus leaving their followers disillusioned. Several names of younger men and women are mentioned repeatedly as potential leaders. Most of these are engaged in what might be termed "service occupations"; that is, they are working with youth and other groups in educational, cultural, social and recreational programmes.



The lack of unity in the black community is recognized as a primary cause and also a result of the lack of black leadership. There is some consensus that leaders will emerge if the community is able to achieve a degree of unity and agreement on common goals and purposes. But this is a chicken and egg situation. Strong leadership is unlikely to emerge until common purposes and goals are achieved within the black community. In like manner, these commonalities may not occur in the absence of effective leadership.

Several respondents indicate that potential leaders must acquire skills, commitment and expertise in specific problem areas. There is a need, according to these respondents, for potential leaders to become known and accepted in the larger Canadian community, in order to have the power to effect significant change in the conditions of blacks.

## 8. Role Models

The socialization process, that process in which the child learns the values, goals, structures and patterns of social relationships in any society is of immense importance. The young child must have adequate role models who personify these characteristics in order that he or she may develop a sense of identity, self definition, and attachment to his or her society. Parents and teachers tend to provide role models for the young child; the adolescent may turn to community leaders or other

significant individuals or groups who serve as desirable role models or heroes.

We were interested in finding out what individuals or groups serve as role models for black youth in Metropolitan Toronto. We asked the sample of community leaders whether or not they felt that black youth needed role models, and if so, what individuals or groups are playing that role.

In general our respondents feel that black youth do need role models, and that for the most part they are not finding them among the black leadership in Metropolitan Toronto. Five respondents believe that present day black youth has replaced the traditional role model, an individual or group, with "institutional models", or with "national or cultural values". One respondent states his opinion:

"There are no role models now for anyone, black or white. The young relate to fashions and fads ... and are easily led by whatever is new."

The remaining respondents in this sample intimate that youth do need role models, but differ in their assessment of the existence of adequate models within the black community. Some respondents feel that black professional people, i.e. lawyers, doctors, university professors, business men and others "who have made it" serve as adequate role models for youth. Others believe that while everyone needs models, in the recent past revolutionary or militant types have occupied this role.

Another group, approximately a quarter of the sample, are worried that criminal types are increasingly appealing to that element of the youth population who sees no need to continue its education. For these youth, many of whom are now "at the hubcap stealing stage", the big cars and easy money flashed by pimps and other criminal types appear extremely attractive. The influence of such films as Superfly supplements this sort of appeal.

Some respondents feel that it is essential that professional individuals relate much more seriously to the black community. These individuals cannot serve as role models when they do not live in and do not identify with the black population. Examples are given of a few young black leaders who are working closely with youth in community centre type programmes, and who have immense influence upon black youth.

Our respondents believe that black youth needs, and naturally will have to choose role models from among those available. The problem is to assure that adequate models are available, visible and ready to work closely with youth. There is a strong feeling that Americans or other distant heroes cannot meet the needs of today's black youth.

#### A 'Younger' Point of View

As mentioned previously the researchers wanted to take advantage of the particular perspective the youth sample might have regarding being black in a Canadian urban society



both now and in the future. Youth respondents were interviewed using the same questionnaire as used with the adult black sample. However, some questions were added, and responded to only by the youth. One follows:

"Which type of individual in the black community would you most like to be like?"

Of the 46 respondents who answered this question, 17 chose themselves as their own personal role model. That is, rather than looking toward another person in the community who might personify the values and goals appropriate, each of these respondents tends to look to himself to develop his own sense of direction. Several respondents look to 'people in the helping professions' or 'community leaders' - but as categories of people and not as individuals. Almost 10 percent feel there are no appropriate role models available to them. The only specific individuals mentioned are Huey Newton, Rap Brown, Angela Davis, George Washington Carver and Dianne Carroll - all Americans, and each only referred to once or twice.

The reasons for the choices of role model are primarily based on personal advantage and a desire to help others.

## 9. The Role of the Media

We assumed that the role of the mass media, newspapers, radio, television, etc. would be of crucial importance in the development of positive or negative self images within the

black population. We were particularly interested in the role assigned to the black press in this development as seen by our respondents.

### Daily Press

All respondents feel that the mass media do indeed play an important role in the development of the images which blacks hold of themselves and of those held by the wider community. Most of our respondents, however, think that the media promote a negative image of blacks much more frequently than a positive one. The daily newspapers are viewed as more strongly negative in their approach to news of the black community than are radio, television or the black press. Most editorials related to the black population are seen as containing misinformation, distortion, and often paternalism.

Harsh words are spoken in relation to black news coverage, particularly in the two morning newspapers in Metropolitan Toronto. One respondent indicates that "Toronto papers never cover black news unless it is of a crime". "And they are always quick to identify a West Indian", e.g. an incident in 1974 when "black youth created a disturbance on the subway".

The Toronto Star is felt by some respondents to have been irresponsible when some months ago it headlined a story to the effect that 300,000 blacks could be in Toronto by the year 1990 ... this type of reporting is felt to have played into the hands of the Western Guard and other racists. The

WHY POWER GROUP SHOCKS CITY

# City blacks don't trust treatment by police

Members of Toronto's black community "cannot tolerate" fairly frequent police beatings of black men, a one-man inquiry by lawyer Arthur Maloney into the Metro Police Complaints Bureau was told yesterday.

Melbourne Thompson, representing the Jamaican-Canadian Association, made the strongest attack on police during the first day of the hearing when he described "a deep feeling of futility and distrust" among Toronto blacks towards the bureau "due to its present structure and method of handling complaints."

"We cannot tolerate the beatings in the confines of a police station; the bludgeoning of men in the back seats of police cars; the senseless and arrogant interrogation of black men driving relatively expensive, late-model cars; and the insulting of our decent women," Thompson said.

Black men are reluctant to make formal complaints of beatings to the bureau, Thompson said, because of "fear of further police retaliation, as quite often they have been threatened by police."

He said black residents are afraid to take their reports of police harassment to the bureau for fear of retaliation and of endangering their immigrant status.

immigrants denied

basic legal rights

racism  
charges  
worker

! Racism exists in Canada  
sanctions  
I say it's natural

"Sorry for the inconvenience"

Police batter  
"wrong" Blacks

Police brutality continues despite publicity

Some police  
hate blacks  
Jamaicans  
but only racists feel fire  
'White power' strikes again,





general tenor of the comments reflects a tremendous amount of fear that such stories, even when true, can only serve to create hostility and antagonism in the white population.

Moreover, several respondents believe that the daily press rarely if ever reports on the achievements of the black population. Black cultural values are felt to be excluded from mention. The daily press "creates false issues and ignores real issues" ... e.g. immigration, job discrimination, etc. Another respondent feels that "the daily press tries to screw us", and that blacks must keep their problems to themselves.

Only three respondents indicate that the daily press has some positive interest in the black community. One of these refers to his admiration of the Star's "Fresh Air Fund" for underprivileged children; another feels that one of the daily newspapers is usually fair, even in controversial incidents, although there are exaggerations in some of its reporting. The third believes that the press frequently resorts to "reverse discrimination", that is, it "leans over backwards" in its efforts to please. The effect is an unfortunate patronization.

### The Black Press

#### (a) Criticism

Serious criticisms are expressed concerning the role of the black press in Toronto by 17 of the 32 respondents in this sample. In general, however, it fares far better than does

the daily press. A few respondents feel that two newspapers, Contrast and the Islander, should be combined as the black population is too small to support both. Other respondents think that there is a need for both newspapers as they serve different purposes. The third black newspaper, Africa Speaks, is not mentioned.

Criticisms focus largely around assertions that the black press "encourages polarization and conflict"; that it neglects the positive aspects of the society and black achievements; that it is not thoughtful and perceptive; it "exaggerates racial aspects of the news"; that it gives too much space to "left-wingers" and their rhetoric. There is a strong need, according to some respondents for more accuracy in reporting and more realistic editorials.

A few respondents feel that Contrast and the Islander are divisive because they emphasize news from the West Indies to the partial exclusion of Canadian news. A small number suggest that Contrast particularly is 'too timid' because it is afraid to antagonize advertisers.

(b) Positive Comment

Several other respondents indicate that the black press is essential to the black population if for no other reason than the negligence of the daily press. Some respondents feel that the black press may be able to educate the daily press and the general community regarding black history and



achievements. Others feel that it does cover black news well and in a forthright manner.

A few respondents think that the press is "the conscience of the community, able to say things black people feel but do not say". The black press is recognized as a potential "force for good if it would focus on the achievements of blacks and, as a result could be a positive force for the youth".

Whatever its shortcomings, our respondents appear to feel that the black press is essential and that it should be supported by the black population.

#### The Role of Radio and Television

Television and radio are on the whole given a more favourable evaluation than the press in presenting news of the black population. However, many respondents feel that their effects are minimal. Some believe that the C.B.C. has made some efforts to "get into the black community", but there is no programming which reflects black culture. There is a need to hire black staff and to develop material which focuses upon black history and achievements.

Other respondents indicate that television and radio still perpetuate the "song and dance" image of blacks, a distortion which should be changed. Much of that which appears on television and in movies is, according to one respondent, "pure garbage". Complaints are expressed about programming in which only "big name" blacks are featured, and they "are

always asked to discuss 'blackness'". Consequently, the impact of radio and T.V. is slight.

The picture is not entirely negative; some of our respondents feel that most radio and television programmes are generally fair although some bias is reflected on one or two stations in Metropolitan Toronto. These respondents also recognize that some progress is being made in the use of blacks in programmes. But it is felt that this limited development is insufficient; blacks must work harder to get into the media at all levels of production. Television and radio are viewed as important vehicles for building self respect and a positive black image.

#### 10. Further Comments by Leadership Respondents

We asked, at the end of each interview, if respondents wanted to comment further, or to discuss other problems not touched upon in the course of answering our questions. Most respondents were very anxious to make additional comments. In fact, some of the most interesting and informative material resulted from this opportunity to verbalize some of the basic issues in the black population as seen by respondents.

##### (a) Lack of Unity

The lack of unity among blacks is seen by several respondents as a particularly vexing problem. "There is no solidarity and no allegiance". This matter has been discussed

historically earlier in this Report but the fears of many respondents regarding the potentially destructive effects of divisiveness and isolation are expressed in the strongest of terms. The infighting between some West Indian groups is particularly deplored by some respondents.

Others feel that even government grants which enable some groups to operate programmes also tend to encourage fragmentation and divisiveness. The existence of a fairly liberal attitude in this city, combined with the scattered black population make it difficult to develop a sense of unity and cohesion. One respondent expresses the situation as follows:

"No crisis exists and no leaders  
can emerge."

(b) Concern with Children and Families

Several respondents are disturbed about the apparent difficulties many West Indian families are experiencing in Toronto. A fairly large number of families are viewed as having problems with their children. The apparent large number of single parent families is viewed as a big factor in the difficulties relating to the control of children - especially when, as in most cases, that parent has a need to work. One person suggests that sometimes children, especially girls, are being thrown out of their homes by parents who cannot control them. Many parents provide their children with too many possessions. One of the results is that kids may tend to think that things 'come easy' in life so why should they struggle



for grades in school. Everyone excuses them. It is stated that Contrast has had to tone down some of its reports about kids engaged in illegal activities. The youth involved may become heroes simply because they have received publicity as a result of their difficulties with the law.

(c) Problems of West Indian Women

Many of the 'community leaders' are concerned with the plight of the West Indian women who are apparently quite lonely and isolated in Metropolitan Toronto. Frequently these women, mostly single, are said to be patients in mental hospitals or attending out patient clinics. The situation is felt to be related to several factors.

First, for various reasons the number of women, particularly single women, is assumed to be larger than the number of men; second, many West Indian men tend to date white women, often leaving West Indian women without male companionship; and third, many women suffer the effects of the loss of the warmly supportive culture of the West Indies. The extended family and the warm friendly culture simply do not exist to the same degree in Toronto. One respondent who regrets this development relates that West Indians are becoming "stilted" like Canadians; for example, "people in restaurants no longer call out to each other as they did back home".

## CHAPTER IV

### ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

#### 1. Introduction

All residents of a community are dependent to some extent upon the variety of agencies and institutions which exist to provide needed health, police, educational, religious, social, recreational, employment, welfare and other services. The attitudes and behaviour of these agencies are particularly crucial to the general welfare of racial and other minorities. They help to ease, or conversely make more difficult, the process of adaptation. Denial of service, or perceived discriminatory treatment by these groups tends to result in negative attitudes toward the entire neighbourhood or community. Thus we feel it is very important to determine the opinions of our respondents regarding some of these services.

The reader is advised that the major part of our discussion and the tables included in the following chapters, relate to the adult black sample. Discussions of the youth sample and the non-black sample follow each subject area in that sequence.

#### 2. Attitude Toward the Schools and Education

"Most white Canadians would not have learned that there were Negroes in Canada at all had they relied upon their formal schooling".

Robin Winks

There has been a considerable amount of discussion concerning the failure of the schools to meet the needs of black children. The York Study, for example, notes that black children are handicapped by the inability of teachers to understand their background, culture, and orientation toward schooling. We were interested in ascertaining the attitudes of our respondents to this situation and asked for responses as to whether or not people felt that teachers discouraged blacks from pursuing academic studies in the school system.

Forty-two percent of our respondents agree that teachers do in fact discourage some black students who would like to pursue academic subjects. Approximately one-fourth of the respondents disagree. However, an even larger number, 33.0 percent (69 of the 210 respondents) has no opinion on the subject. This may not be particularly significant since 37 percent of the respondents do not have children.

As stated earlier, the researchers felt that the youth, since most were still students, would have a particularly relevant statement to make regarding issues in education. Almost two-thirds, 61.1 percent (33), of the youth sample indicate that teachers do discourage blacks from working in certain educational fields. Ten young people (18.5 percent) disagree with this statement and a final eleven (20.4 percent) have no opinion.



The primary reason for the youth's sense of a negative attitude on the part of their teachers is that teachers discourage self-determination, 56.7 percent (17) - or there is the problem of channeling into technical, vocational or commercial courses and away from the academic stream, 30 percent (9). One student reports that when discussing his desire to become an engineer, the teacher commented that he was not suited to that field. "You are a good basketball player and the school needs basketball players. Why don't you become a professional and forget about the engineering?"

Most non-black respondents (57.7 percent) do not agree that some teachers discourage blacks from entering certain educational programmes. Only six respondents, or 11.5 percent, agree with this statement.

#### Negative References to Blacks in Textbooks

A report published by McDiarmid and Pratt of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (1971) indicates that prejudicial attitudes and negative references to blacks are widespread in the textbooks used in Ontario schools. We asked if our respondents were aware of these types of attitudes in school textbooks. More than one-third (34.8 percent) of all respondents, including those who do not have children, indicate an awareness of these attitudes. Forty percent (84) are not aware of negative references, and almost one-fourth are unsure.

The percentage of respondents who believe that textbooks do contain negative references to blacks increases significantly when only those with children are analyzed.

Over two-thirds of the youth sample (69.8 percent - 37) state 'yes' - there are discriminatory references to minorities in school texts and literature. Comments include: derogatory references to blacks and native peoples - name calling; mention of blacks only in 'serving' situations; and a complete omission of blacks as a valued part of Canadian history and society.

Non-black respondents are almost equally divided regarding the issue. Forty percent of the respondents in this sub-sample indicate an awareness of discriminatory references; thirty-eight percent know of no such references.

#### Negative Attitudes of Black Youth Toward Education

There has been a great deal of discussion in the black population concerning the difficulties of black youth in adapting themselves to an educational system which has little interest or knowledge of their needs. As indicated earlier in this Report, the school has been charged with failing to understand the black child and with attempting to destroy his identification with his own cultural values. In view of the fairly strong feeling generated by the experiences of black youth in the schools, it

might be assumed that our respondents would express considerably negative attitudes toward the educational system.

In connection with their response it is important to note that there was a discrepancy in the interpretation of the question -

Some teachers feel that many black students tend to have a negative attitude towards school. Do you agree with this feeling?

Although we were trying to discern whether or not respondents thought that teachers in the school system were inclined to project a negative attitude, the actual response indicates that people are concerned more with the positive or negative attitudes of the students themselves.

Some observers, including a few of our leadership group respondents, believe that many black students have adopted a negative attitude toward education. These students, it is felt, have little faith in education as a means of self fulfillment or career advancement. Or their parents do not offer encouragement and support.

Only slightly more than one-fourth (26.4 percent) of the respondents in the adult black sample indicate a degree of negative feeling toward the educational system.

TABLE 14

PERCEPTIONS OF NEGATIVE  
ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	55	26.4
No	113	54.3
Unsure	40	19.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	208	100.0

Most of the fifty-five respondents who suggest that blacks do have negative attitudes toward the school believe that 'students reflect teacher attitudes', or that the 'teachers lack understanding'; there are social pressures to contend with, and black immigrant youth have 'difficulties with the school system' here in Canada.

The majority of the adult black sample, 54.3 percent, do not believe that black youth are negatively oriented toward the school system.

Almost one-half the youth group, 45.3 percent (24), however, acknowledges a negative attitude on the part of students toward the school system.

Reasons for agreement are primarily based on the fact that students tend to reflect the attitudes of their teachers, 33.3 percent (10). One respondent also includes the influence of the 'white kids'. Another suggests negative parental input; another believes that black youth do feel inferior to whites. Secondly, it is suggested that the successful image promoted by blacks does not include education, 23.3 percent (7). Several respondents mention that blacks are more socially than educationally oriented.

"It isn't 'hep' to care about school."

"There's nothing to work for even if you can get somewhere. Is the hassle worth it?"



Some members of the black population may take issue with the latter statement. Seventeen percent (5) of the young people blame 'social pressures' (including the attraction of money or material possessions) for this negative attitude.

The other half of the youth sample disagrees with the idea that black students have a negative attitude towards school.

One of those denying the statement feels that black youth "aspire and participate as much as any other group". Another emphasizes that there is "lots of pressure on black kids who have to work twice as hard to earn passing marks as do white students".

The largest single group of non-black respondents, 43.1 percent, do not feel that black students generally have a negative attitude toward school. However, slightly more than a fourth of this sample believes that this is true. A considerable number, 31.4 percent, are 'unsure' and do not express an opinion.

Several non-blacks comment about their impressions of the school system and about teachers generally. One respondent, for example, reports feeling that discrimination is based on "the teacher's lack of knowledge of the black child's background".

Another non-black respondent suggests that blacks have made important contributions to Canadian history and "have not been recognized. They have not been given an 'equal opportunity to learn'." Still another non-black respondent feels that many "teachers have certain preconceived ideas", a reference to their stereotyping or to a prejudice against blacks. And finally, one observant person, referring to the school system, indicates that "all children coming from minority or economically deprived groups will experience discrimination".

Job Opportunities Following Graduation  
From Educational Institutions

Education is generally viewed in western societies as one of the most important factors in social and economic mobility and success. As indicated earlier in this report, many blacks are quite concerned about the quality and relevance of the education received by their children. Other spokesmen, including some of our respondents, have commented about the difficulties experienced by black, and especially West Indian children in the school systems of Metropolitan Toronto. One programme, the Black Education Project, has been organized to help black children cope more successfully within the schools.

For these reasons we were interested in ascertaining what respondents felt about the opportunities for black youth who do continue and graduate from the various levels of schooling: high schools, vocational schools, community colleges, and universities.

Responses to these questions indicate that most respondents feel only fairly positively about the opportunities available to black graduates from the various academic levels. Although not entirely consistent, the number of respondents who feel that opportunities are "good" gradually increases as the level of education increases; e.g. 26.2 percent feel that opportunities are "good" for high school graduates, 39.5 percent feel that opportunities are "good" for university graduates.

TABLE 15      JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOLLOWING GRADUATION FROM:

	<u>High School</u>		<u>Vocational School</u>		<u>Community College</u>		<u>University</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>
Very good	12	5.7	16	7.6	14	6.7	18	8.7
Good	55	26.2	71	33.8	74	35.2	83	40.1
Fair	66	31.4	59	28.1	77	36.7	64	30.9
Poor	45	21.4	28	13.3	19	9.0	26	12.4
Very poor	14	6.7	9	4.3	7	3.3	5	2.4
No opinion	16	7.6	22	10.5	16	7.4	10	4.8
N/A	<u>2</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>
	210	100.0	210	100.0	210	100.0	207	100.0

Unfortunately it was not ascertained to what extent reasons for these impressions included the crucial unemployment problems presently affecting all levels and groups in society.

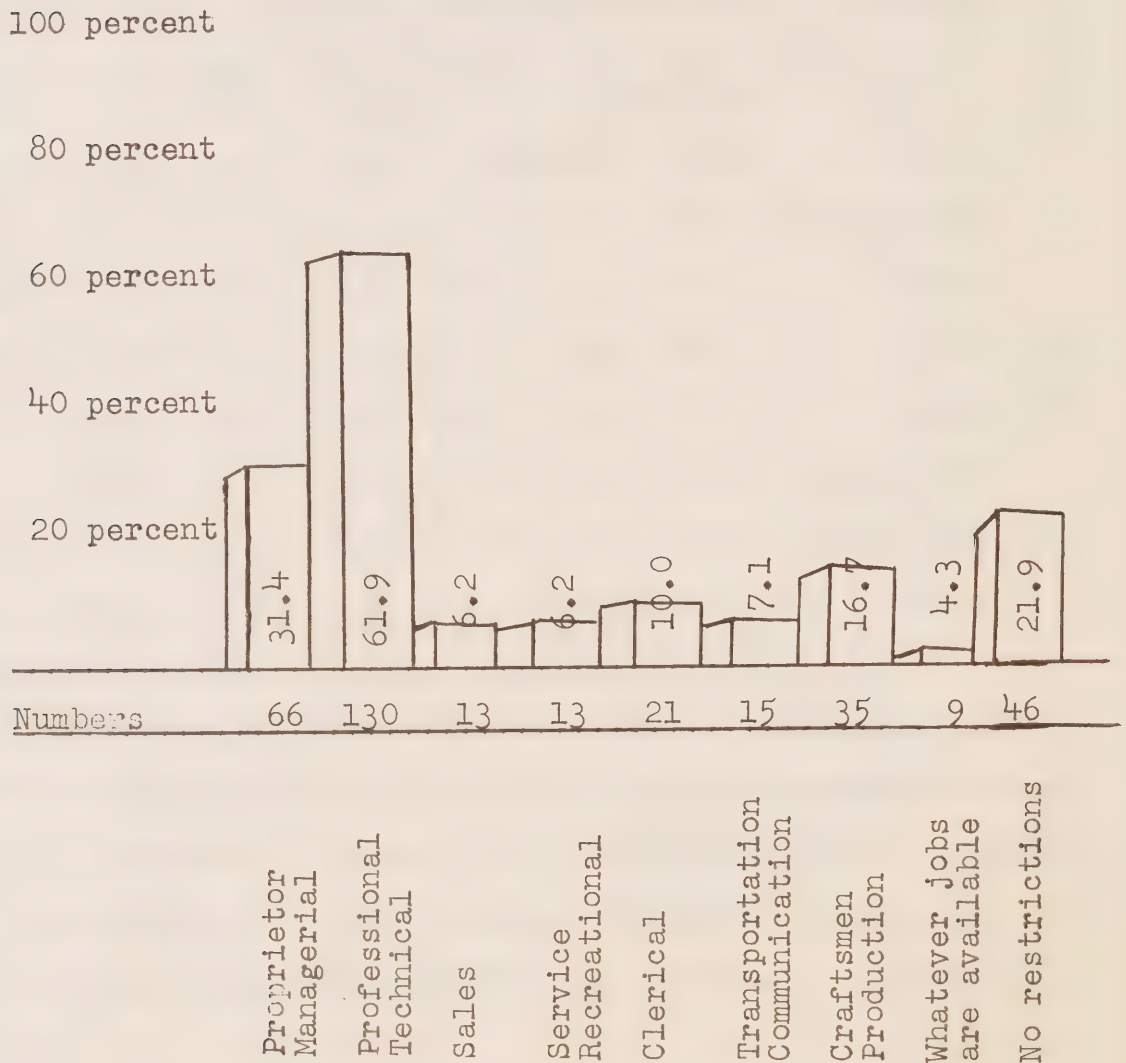
Cross tabulations of attitudes re: job opportunities and place of birth reveal few significant differences between

Canadian and West Indian black respondents. One small difference is seen in the ratings of Canadian and West Indian respondents regarding opportunities for high school graduates; approximately one-fifth of West Indians feel that job opportunities are "poor" for high school graduates; only 14.3 percent of Canadian born blacks agreed.

Preparation for Employment

TABLE 16

AREAS IN WHICH BLACKS SHOULD  
PREPARE FOR EMPLOYMENT





According to black adult respondents, the foregoing graph presents an illustration of the types of occupations for which black youth should be preparing themselves. It is obvious from the table that most black adult respondents (61.9 percent) feel that black students should prepare themselves for professional or technical occupations.

#### The 'Youth' Viewpoint

Job opportunities are considered by youth to be only fair to good whether graduating from high school, vocational school, or community college. With a university degree, options increase and the feeling is there are 'good' even 'very good' opportunities for employment.

It is recommended by the youth group that black students should prepare themselves for positions wherever they are available and without restrictions (53.7 percent -29), specifying particularly in some instances managerial positions (20.4 percent), and professional situations (37 percent).

The following quotation sums up the general youth feeling:

"Aspire to the highest!"

The youth were also asked:

"What do you feel you want to accomplish in the next five years?"

Most of the respondents expect to attain their educational goals shortly and so see themselves as entering into a specific profession (medicine, teaching, law, business, engineering etc.) or sport (particularly football or basketball). Some expect still to be in school or perhaps preparing for employment.

"Will colour affect the achievement of your goals?"

Almost two-thirds of the youth state that they do not feel their colour will influence the attainment of their personal goals. One respondent mentions "It isn't colour which is important, nothing can stop you if you are willing to try". Almost one-third of the respondents who feel colour will not affect their achievement believe the community generally accepts that achievement, as indicated above, is based on individual effort.

Some respondents acknowledge the role of ability and appropriate qualifications. Others are determined not to let any existing discrimination stand in their way. "As a person with a liberal approach, colour cannot be identified as a barrier." More than half of those feeling colour will not affect their achievement, 54.5 percent (18), also expect to see discriminatory attitudes lessening over the next five years.

Of the nearly 20 percent fearing that colour may affect the attainment of their personal goals most indicate existing discriminatory attitudes as the primary source of concern.

### The 'Non-Black' Opinion

The non-black sample was somewhat more positive than the blacks in their assessment of the possibilities for employment available to black youth following graduation from the various levels of schooling. However, this difference is small and statistically insignificant.

The largest number in this group (41.5 percent) say that there should be no restrictions in black employment. Some suggest that black youth should prepare themselves firstly for professional-technical employment and secondly for proprietorial-managerial occupations.

### 3. Attitudes Toward the Media

#### (a) The Daily Press

There has been a considerable amount of negative feeling among blacks concerning the manner in which the daily press covers news of the black population. Some members of the leadership sample in this Study report that the daily press rarely mentions the achievements of members of the black population, but almost invariably identifies a black person who has committed a crime. Other observers, including writers for the black journals, state that the daily press tends to "play up the sensational", and does little or nothing to improve relationships between the various groups in Metropolitan Toronto.

In responding to a question asking about the role of the daily press, almost three-fourths (70 percent) of the adult

black sample agree with this negative viewpoint; in fact 64 respondents (31.5 percent) report that the daily press tends to "destroy positive relationships" between blacks and whites.

TABLE 17                      NEGATIVE ATTITUDE RE DAILY PRESS\*

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Destroys relations	64	31.5
Unfair, inaccurate reporting	24	11.8
Insensitivity in reporting	23	11.3
Promotes negative feelings toward blacks	5	2.5
Publishes negative articles	5	2.5
Exaggeration of crime situations	11	5.4
Blacks play limited role	10	4.9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	142	69.9

Smaller numbers indicate that the daily press tend to be "unfair and inaccurate", "to engage in 'insensitive reporting'", and to "exaggerate crime" among blacks. A few respondents suggest that the role of the press is quite limited and thus of little effect.

However, almost a fourth of our respondents (55) give a more favourable response to our inquiry about the role of the daily press. Almost half of this number feels that it attempts to "build positive relations between blacks and other groups".

\* Many people, responding to questions about attitudes, expressed both favourable and non-favourable opinions and in these cases the responses were coded under both headings.



The younger respondents (70 percent) concur with the primarily negative attitude of the adult population regarding the effectiveness of the daily press in building relationships between blacks and whites in Toronto. Reasons as above are scattered - from a general feeling that the press tends to "destroy relationships" to more specific accusations of "unfair and inaccurate reporting", and references are made to the "limited coverage" given to the black population. One respondent suggests that the "white media are waging war against blacks".

Only 16 non-black respondents, or 30.1 percent, report positive attitudes toward the daily press in its treatment of blacks. One half of these believe that the press "builds relationships" or "promotes understanding". However, most non-black respondents (69.8 percent) express negative feelings toward the role of the daily press in promoting relationships and understandings between blacks and other groups.

(b) The Black Press

Winks, Hill and others have commented upon the role of the black press in building a sense of black consciousness and identity. A press which reflects the aspirations, achievements, and goals of ethnic groups appears to be of great importance. Certainly one characteristic of Metropolitan Toronto is the considerable number of ethnic newspapers published by many of the various groups in the community. Winks examines the role

of the black press and its potential of strength in the black community.

"The Negro newspapers in Canada did reflect one of the most obvious of Negro inconsistencies, however, and it was because of that inconsistency that they grew at all. Negroes repeatedly insisted that newspapers should be free of racial bias, indeed, of racial awareness. They complained that the white dailies did not give sufficient space to Negro social news - the complaint was justified - and that too often the only stories in which Negroes were identified as such were those dealing with crime. Racial designations were irrelevant, the Negroes insisted. Yet, both within their own newspapers and repeatedly in conversation, Negroes insisted that black men should be identified by race when they achieved some success however minor that success might be. They did not ask for color-blind newspapers, they asked for value free newspapers." 17.

Although various black publications have been born, lived a short life and passed into oblivion, the three "black" newspapers now published in Metropolitan Toronto appear to be serving a very useful purpose. They may prove to be exceptions to past experience. We asked our respondents for their opinions regarding the role of the black press in the development of black/white relationships.

A small majority of respondents (56 percent), think that, in general, the black press tends to be a positive force in building better relations with the general population. This attitude is related to a feeling that the black press "increases cultural identity", "improves relationships", reports the news "fairly", and "increases communications".

17. Winks, Robin, *ibid* p. 410-411

**Non-whites can't win  
immigration debate  
Blacks fear police reprisals**

**Don't lump us all together  
in West Indian culture  
Canadian-born**

**MAILED GRANDMOTHER BLACK**

**Blacks beate  
in bruising  
brawl**

**Black life:  
synonymous  
with  
struggle**

**Blacks steered  
to own areas**

**Law blind to disorder**

**The darker the skin, the stronger 'prejudice'**







However, slightly more than a third of our respondents (36.7 percent) indicate that the black press generally fails to contribute to improvements in black/white relationships. For one half of this group, the black press tends to be engaged in "biased reporting". Approximately 25 percent of this group suggests that the black press tends to "destroy relationships". Smaller numbers, less than 10 percent, feel that it fosters "black/white confrontations", is "too militant", and over-emphasizes news of the West Indies and not Canadian news.

As occurred in the adult group, a majority of the younger respondents who expressed their views concerning the black press consider it to be a positive force. Almost 30 percent of this group feels that the black press increases cultural identity and that this then indirectly affects the strengthening of black/white relationships. 'Fair reporting' and a general reference to 'building relations' are also cited as reasons.

Some of the youth expressing a negative attitude toward the black press criticize their 'biased reporting' and others believe the black publications tend to 'destroy relations'.

According to one of several respondents:

"Contrast is mainly catering to blacks and is therefore read only by blacks - and this does not help to improve relations."

Another respondent takes an opposite stance:

"Contrast is trying to make an impact on the community - to be an education for blacks and to deliver a message meant for whites."

Perhaps the question is - are the black publications in Toronto attempting to improve black/white relationships or do they see their function as primarily to educate and to give support to the black community?

Favourable attitudes toward the black press are expressed by only 37.5 percent of the non-black respondents, a slightly larger number than were favourable toward the daily press. Several of these respondents feel as do the black respondents that the black press "increases the cultural identity of the black community".

#### (c) Television

With one or two exceptions television in Canada has not been the subject of investigation in terms of its impact upon black/white relationships. It is, however, probably one of the most pervasive influences in modern society. It was felt to be of great importance to determine what role blacks feel that television plays in this development.

As in the case of the daily press, most of our respondents (56.8 percent) feel that television plays a negative role in the development of black/white relationships. Some of these respondents feel that television tends to "destroy relationships". Another sizeable group feels that television tends to create a "negative image" of blacks. However, the largest group, almost fifty percent of those who assess the role of television

negatively, feels that "blacks play a limited role" in television. Thus its effect upon black/white relationships can only be minimal.

Respondents (86) who feel that television constitutes a positive influence upon the development of black/white relationships generally feel that it tends to "build relationships", and are favourably disposed to the fact that increasing numbers of blacks are seen in programmes. A few others feel that the increasing number of black programmes being shown is a favourable development.

A fairly strong majority (63 percent) of the young people see television as a destructive force in the development of black/white relationships. The greatest stress (47.1 percent) is on the limited role which blacks play in this medium and here we are particularly looking at Canadian programming. Another 15 percent specify that a negative image of blacks is being promoted.

One respondent mentions that whatever black programming does occur in Toronto "it does not help the discrimination problem one bit".

The non-black respondents are almost equally divided in their opinions regarding the role of television in developing better black/white relations. Only 45.8 percent of the non-black respondents feel that television plays a positive role; fifty-four percent feel that its role is negative.



### Advertising in Mass Media

One aspect of the mass media, which we did not investigate is advertising. The lack of visible minorities in Canadian advertising has been frequently noted, especially since the recent introduction of blacks in American advertising seen on television in Toronto. These casual and unsystematic observations are documented in a Study on the "Employment of Visible Minority Groups in Mass Media Advertising", a Report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission in 1971.

This Report notes:

"On the basis of our content analysis of newspapers, magazines, television commercials and the testimony of witnesses, there is little doubt that racial discrimination against visible minority groups occurs in mass media advertising. Visible minority groups are judged on their racial characteristics and are not given the same opportunities as whites."

The Report ends by recommending a number of steps which should be taken by the Ontario Government, by the Ontario Human Rights Commission, by the advertising firms and agencies and by major ethnic groups and associations.<sup>18</sup>.

#### 4. Attitudes and Behaviour of Police

Perhaps no area of community life has been more subject to attack by black leaders and the black press than the attitudes and behaviour of the police in their dealing with the black population. The police, as indicated in Chapter I, have been accused

18. Elkin, Frederick, "The Employment of Visible Minority Groups in Mass Media Advertising."



of harassing, "name-calling", and using the flimsiest excuses to charge the black population with various types of crime. According to one of our respondents "basically the police are out to get blacks".

We asked our respondents whether or not they felt the police were fair in dealing with blacks. Fifty-one respondents (24.3 percent) feel that the police are fair; exactly one-half (105) of the respondents indicate that the police are not fair.

TABLE 18		ATTITUDE TOWARD POLICE FAIRNESS	
1954	1955	1954	1955
100	100	100	100
90	90	90	90
80	80	80	80
70	70	70	70
60	60	60	60
50	50	50	50
40	40	40	40
30	30	30	30
20	20	20	20
10	10	10	10
0	0	0	0

<u>Response</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	51	24.6
No	105	50.7
No opinion	46	22.2
Mixed opinion	5	2.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	207	100.0

Of the approximately one-fourth who express a favourable attitude toward the police, the most frequently given reason is that they are "generally fair and efficient". The predominant reasons given by respondents who express negative feelings are that the police engage in "unfair treatment to blacks", and there is a "lack of respect in the treatment of blacks".

Sixty-eight respondents had actually witnessed what they consider to be fair or unfair treatment of blacks by the police. A comment by one respondent reflects an impression which many would accept as valid for the general community:

"There are bigots on the police force  
but usually then lean over backwards  
to avoid being accused of discrimination."

While 50.7 percent of all respondents believe that the police are unfair in their treatment of blacks, significant differences exist among the minority who believe that they are fair. Almost 40.0 percent of Canadian born blacks believe that the police are fair, while only slightly more than 20.0 percent of West Indians believe that they are fair.

TABLE 19                      ATTITUDE REGARDING POLICE FAIRNESS  
   BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	<u>Canada</u>	<u>West Indies</u>
Yes	13 38.2 P.C.	33 22.3 P.C.
No	17 50.0 P.C.	75 50.7 P.C.
No opinion	2 5.9 P.C.	37 25.0 P.C.
Mixed opinion	2 5.9 P.C.	3 2.0 P.C.
Column	34	148

(N= 182)

Sample incidents which were reported indicate a suspicious approach is being taken by policemen:

- (a) A car is stopped for no reason other than  
that there are a "bunch of blacks inside".

- (b) On leaving a restaurant a respondent is "put up against the wall and searched" by the police. He is only told they were looking for someone.
- (c) A police car continually cruises the block to check up on a group of black youth going to the subway together after their basketball practice. What do they anticipate will happen?
- (d) A person is harassed by police and sent back to his apartment for identification. During questioning he is told to keep his hands by his sides or he will be shot. Then with no further explanation he is told to go.

The youth contingent voices a much stronger disapproval of Toronto's police force. Three-quarters of our sample disagree with the statement that the city's police force is fair and efficient in dealing with blacks. Over half of these condemn police treatment of blacks - calling it 'unfair'. Another twenty percent (9) criticize specifically the physical, sometimes brutal, aggressiveness of police. Twelve percent resent their stereotyping of blacks. Only 13 percent of the youth respondents feel positively towards Toronto police.

Most non-black respondents, 53.8 percent, feel that the police are generally fair in their dealings with the black population. However, almost a fourth of these respondents, 23.1 percent do not agree with this opinion.

#### The Black Police

Black police are generally considered in a more favourable light. Seventy-three respondents (40.8 percent) responded positively to our question regarding attitudes toward black police. However, a large minority (30.9 percent) express negative attitudes toward black police. Respondents with positive feelings emphasize that these men are 'equally fair and efficient', or "it is good to have black police as representatives of our community". "Black police are fair and friendly in their relationships with blacks."

Most respondents with negative feelings report that black police are "equally inadequate". Frequently accusations regarding the effectiveness of the black police are tempered with explanations:

"Black police are tough on blacks. They are trying to show white police that they are competent and not biased."

"For black police the challenge is greater. Negative attitudes may be experienced when they are dealing with white law-breakers. It is difficult for them to show fellow blacks that they are impartial."

Over half the youth sample (29) also have negative feelings toward the black police, their reasons in order of



prevalence being that they are 'equally inadequate in dealing with the black community'; they are 'token members of the police force'; they are 'more severe in their treatment of blacks'. One respondent states:

"The white society has a psychological influence on him (i.e. the black policeman) and the way he must carry out his duties. He may be forced to do things which are not very good" (i.e. the implication being good for the black population).

Other respondents emphasize that there is strong pressure from the general community and the police to "go white" and "become more vicious towards one's own kind". A final comment shows criticism of the black population for the pressure it puts on the 'black cop'.

Twenty percent of the youth feels favourably towards the black police although the majority of this group is somewhat hesitant in its praise: the black police are 'generally adequate'.

"It is individual cops, black or white, who can be unfair."

"The black policeman is like any other. He has a job to do."

A large majority of non-black respondents (76.9 percent) express a favourable attitude toward black policemen. One-half of these respondents feel that black policemen are "equally fair and efficient". Another 21.2 percent express positive feelings about "the presence of a black policeman".

## 5. Attitudes and Behaviour of the Courts

The generally negative attitudes of our respondents related to the behaviour of the police are not matched by their feelings toward the courts. Perhaps this is because the activities and behaviour of the courts are held to be less subject to arbitrary and discriminatory action than is the behaviour of the police.

We felt it important to assess the opinions of our respondents about their perceptions of treatment of citizens generally and specifically blacks by the courts.

As was expected, many respondents, for a variety of reasons, were unable to give an opinion on this question. Only 92 of the 210 black respondents in this sample answered the question. The majority of respondents feel that the treatment accorded individuals by the courts is 'fair', 18.0 percent, or 'poor', 12.5 percent.

TABLE 20

### TREATMENT OF NON-BLACKS AND BLACKS BY COURTS

	<u>Non-Blacks</u>		<u>Blacks</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very good	3	1.5	1	0.5
Good	21	10.5	13	6.4
Fair	36	18.0	36	17.8
Poor	25	12.5	37	18.3
Very poor	7	3.5	24	11.9
No opinion	108	54.0	91	45.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	200	100.0	200	100.0

A slightly larger group, 111 respondents, expressed an opinion on the question inquiring about the treatment of blacks by the courts. Perceptions are much more negative where the treatment of blacks, as opposed to that of the ordinary citizen, is concerned. For example, 18.3 percent of the respondents feel that the treatment of blacks is 'poor', and a surprising 11.9 percent feel it is 'very poor'. This is compared with only approximately 3.5 percent who feel that treatment of the general population is 'very poor'.

Some respondents, approximately 7.6 percent of the total sample, suggest that blacks are subjected to more severe treatment than whites when arrested.

Comments by black respondents focus largely upon the "Smithers Case", the situation in which a black youth allegedly killed a white youth in a fight following a hockey game. There had apparently been severe provocation through taunting, name calling etc. There has been a great deal of sympathy for Smithers' position.

Feelings on this issue have been expressed as follows:

"The Smithers case had an unfair decision."

"The case is an example of a miscarriage of justice, a case of bigotry."

"The Western Guard reflects the opinions of most white Canadians ... this is the way they feel but are afraid to say."

Only 34 members of the youth sample voiced an opinion regarding the treatment of arrested persons by the courts. Most

(26) of this group consider treatment to be 'fair' or 'good' (adequate).

Referring to the treatment of blacks specifically, 39 responded and most consider treatment to be 'poor' or 'fair'. This re-emphasizes the black adult viewpoint that the treatment of blacks by the courts is more severe.

Some remarks:

"The courts stereotype blacks believing that they instigate crimes."

"The courts are prejudiced by the police."

The non-black sample makes little distinction in the treatment of citizens generally and the treatment of blacks by the courts of the City. The percent of respondents who feel that blacks are treated 'well', 'fair', or in a 'poor' manner is almost identical with feelings expressed in relation to the treatment of non-black citizens.

#### 6. Attitudes Toward Community Services

The freedom to participate fully in the various community services provided by voluntary and public organizations for all residents may be considered an indication of community acceptance. Nevertheless, many ethnic groups have developed some services which have been felt necessary for their own group, either because services by the general community were not available or else they were not appropriate to their needs. For



example, they have developed ethnic newspapers, radio and television presentations, and educational programmes to share the culture of their former country with their children and with one another.

We felt it important to determine the attitudes of black respondents toward participation in the general community services, or conversely, the desirability of developing their own organizations and services.

The largest number of respondents (84 or 40.2 percent) feels that blacks should be served by agencies and organizations serving the general community. Only one-sixth of the respondents (16.3 percent) feel that blacks should develop their own community services.

TABLE 21 ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNITY SERVICES  
BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	<u>Canada</u>		<u>West Indies</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Use existing services	13	37.1	56	37.6
Develop services for blacks	4	11.4	29	19.5
Choice of black only or existing services	17	48.6	44	29.5
Develop some services for blacks only	1	2.9	18	12.1
No opinion	0	0.0	2	1.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	35	100.0	149	100.0

(N= 184)

Few Canadian and West Indian respondents believe that blacks should use black services exclusively. The proportion of Canadians (48.6 percent) who believe that blacks should have a choice, however, is significantly greater than that of West Indian respondents (29.5 percent) who express this opinion.

The majority, 65 percent (35), of youth group members, in contrast to the black adult population, believe that the black community should have a choice between using blacks only or general community services. Forty-one percent (14) of those recommending this opportunity for 'choice' feel 'positively' or even 'very positively' about their status as black youth growing up in a predominately white society. However, 32.8 percent (11) have equally negative feelings about their situation.

Few non-black respondents (only 2.0 percent) feel that blacks should develop their own community services. The largest group, 46.0 percent, believe that blacks should use existing services; the next largest group, 36.0 percent, think that blacks should have a choice in whether or not they want to use all black services.

(a) Attitudes Toward Human Rights Organizations

A number of community agencies have, among other concerns, an interest in promoting human rights in the community. Among these organizations are the Canadian Jewish Congress, the

Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Labour Committee on Human Rights. Several churches and ethnic groups also have committees in this field. Legislation exists at both the federal and provincial levels presumably providing protection for the human rights of the individual. In addition, a number of black organizations, the U.A.I.A., the newly formed Committee Against Racism, and other groups have been organized to combat discrimination and to secure basic human rights for blacks and other Canadians.

Respondents were asked whether or not they felt that human rights organizations and in particular the Ontario Human Rights Commission, are actually concerned with protecting these rights. Approximately 70.0 percent of the respondents feel that there is some concern or very great concern. Only 26 respondents, or 13.1 percent of those who replied to the question, suggest that there is little concern with protecting human rights.

Very great differences are seen when we examine the perception of concern for black citizens as viewed by Canadian and West Indian respondents. An overwhelming majority of Canadians (94.1 percent) believe that the Human Rights organizations demonstrate "very much concern" or "some concern" regarding the treatment of blacks; only 65.3 percent of West Indian respondents agree.

TABLE 22

ATTITUDE RE THE CONCERN TOWARD ONTARIO  
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION  
BY PLACE OF BIRTH

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Canada</u>		<u>West Indies</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very concerned	18	52.9	43	30.5
Some concern	14	41.2	49	34.8
Neutral	1	2.9	23	16.3
Lack of concern	1	2.9	20	14.2
Unsure	0	0.0	5	3.5
Other	0	0.0	1	0.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	34	100.0	141	100.0

(N= 175)

Ontario Human Rights Commission

The Ontario Human Rights Commission is the official agency of the Ontario government in the field of combatting prejudice and discrimination against individuals because of race, creed, colour, or sex. The agency was created by the government in 1962 for the purpose of initiating:

"at the community level a climate of understanding and mutual respect, in which all our people, of whatever racial, religious or cultural background - new Canadian no less than native born - will be made to feel that all are equal in dignity and rights, that each is part of the whole Canadian community, and that each has a rich contribution to make to the development and well being of our province and the nation. Few will disagree that this is a prerequisite for the building of a truly healthy Canadianism."

(From the Ontario Human Rights Code, Revised Statutes of Ontario 1970, February 1974).



The Ontario Human Rights Commission has handled a great variety of complaints since its early days, and has achieved a considerable reputation among human rights agencies in North America and in the western world generally. It has, however, had its critics. Brown cites some groups and individuals as feeling that those who suffer discrimination are put on the defensive ... "The professionals at the Commission just sit back and wait for the victims to go through the painful process of trying to prove that injury and injustice have taken place". Others are "totally ignorant" of the existence of the Commission; some feel it is doing a good job, while others are very cynical of its operations.

For example, the Anglican Church Study of Discrimination found that only 40.0 percent of its respondents could name the Commission, and of this group, 70.0 percent had no confidence in its effectiveness in dealing with the problems of discrimination.

In view of its official status in the community, as well as in the entire Province of Ontario, we felt that it was important to ascertain what respondents thought about the work of the Commission. Most respondents (69.2 percent) express positive feelings regarding the work of the Commission. The largest numbers in this group feel that the Commission 'protects individual rights', 'helps blacks', and that it 'plays a limited but necessary role'.

TABLE 23 FAVOURABLE ATTITUDES TOWARD  
ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Protects rights	23	11.3
Investigates complaints	17	8.4
Offers advice	3	1.5
Promotes black/white communication	7	3.4
Educates people	4	2.0
Helps blacks	43	21.2
Maintains equality	16	7.9
Plays necessary role	23	11.0
Other	5	2.5
	<hr/> 121	<hr/> 69.2

A considerable number of respondents, (61 or 29.6 percent) however, express negative feelings concerning the role of the Commission. Approximately 50 percent of this group feels that the Commission is 'ineffective in dealing with black problems'.

TABLE 24 NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD  
ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Ineffective	31	15.0
Not sufficiently aggressive	10	4.9
Limited as Government agency	8	3.9
Little value - not known	9	4.3
Other	3	1.5
	<hr/> 61	<hr/> 29.6

When we differentiate between the Canadian and the West Indian viewpoints concerning the Ontario Human Rights Commission, we find that while only one-fourth of Canadian blacks have negative feelings, a third of the West Indian sub-sample expresses dissatisfaction with the agency.

TABLE 25		ATTITUDES TOWARD ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION BY PLACE OF BIRTH				
Attitude	Canada	United States	West Indies	Africa	Other	Row Total
Favourable	27 19.1	3 2.1	96 68.1	12 8.5	3 2.1	141 100.0
Unfavourable	9 14.8		47 77.0	5 8.2		61 100.0

(N= 202)

Younger respondents are also more favourable in their attitudes than those over 40 years of age.

Some respondents are unaware of revisions within the Ontario Human Rights Code. The Code was amended in 1972 to state the following:

(13 3) "Where the Commission has reason for believing that any person has contravened a provision of sections 1 to 4a in respect of a person or a group of persons, the Commission may initiate a complaint."  
(1972, c. 119 s. 10)

Further, (14 1) "Where a complaint has been filed with or initiated by the Commission, the Commission or an officer thereof shall inquire into the complaint and endeavour to effect a settlement of the matter complained of."

Of the 72 percent (39) of the youth group who responded to the question concerning their attitude toward the Ontario Human Rights Commission, twenty-seven indicate a favourable attitude towards this agency. When asked what action had been taken following a personal discriminatory incident only 2 respondents reported having consulted the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The modal positive responses, 37.0 percent, are that the Commission 'protects the individual's rights' and 'maintains equality and justice'.

The primary reason for having an unfavourable opinion regarding the Commission is given as its 'ineffectiveness in dealing with black problems'.

Reported comments state:

"People are reluctant to complain since nothing is usually done. There is a lack of trust in the Commission."

"All those educated dudes feel like they are doing us a favour by listening to our beefs; then they figure they've done enough to keep us quiet for a while."

The non-black sample reflects a generally favourable attitude toward the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Thirty-nine (84.8 percent) of the respondents in this sample are included in this group; only 15.2 percent of respondents feel negatively.



(b) Control of Community Services

The perceptions regarding the use of community services ... social agencies, educational institutions, health facilities, recreational programmes, etc. are mixed.

One respondent wants "black only" business enterprises which, in his view, will lead to "greater economic power". Another wants "blacks to control community services even when all races participate". And finally, one respondent states that every ethnic group needs a Centre "that's ours" ( a reference to the proposal for a Black Community Centre which has been under consideration for more than two years).

The minority of respondents who want the black population to develop its own programmes to serve the black people, for the most part, desire the same types of services developed by most other ethnic groups. Most respondents, 38 or 19.4 percent, of this group want social and recreational services provided by the black population for its own members, and 29 respondents or 14.8 percent want programmes emphasizing cultural and historical factors presented by black organizations. There is little interest in exclusively black medical services, job or family counselling, formal educational programmes, day care or other social services.

The majority of the youth (52.5 percent) requesting services for blacks only also indicates that social and recreational facilities should be particularly encouraged.

## CHAPTER V

### PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK IDENTITY AND RELATIONSHIPS

#### 1. Maintaining Former Culture in Canada

One of the crucial problems for the newly arrived immigrant is the degree to which he will attempt to adapt to the customs, mores, and cultural patterns of the host country. Or, conversely, will he attempt to maintain as much as possible of the former culture and way of life. We asked questions concerning this matter of all black respondents, Canadian born as well as those born outside Canada.

Almost three-fourths of our respondents, (73.4 percent), indicate that it is desirable for immigrants to 'maintain the attitudes and ways of life of their home country' while living in Toronto. Only 35 respondents, or 16.9 percent, suggest that this attempt should not be made. Seventeen respondents report "mixed feelings" on the matter.

When asked for the reason respondents feel as they do, the largest single group of respondents or 35.8 percent of the total, suggests that 'former ways can co-exist with new ways'. The second largest group, 56 respondents or 33.9 percent, feel that the maintenance of former ways of life is 'necessary to maintaining a black identity'. Approximately 20 percent of

the respondents feel that "it is important for all ethnic groups to retain the ways of their heritage", a reason related to the above.

The most frequently given reason for respondents not accepting the importance of maintaining former ways of life is the 'need to adapt to the ways of the country of residence'. These respondents suggest that it is important to fit into the new society - the 'when in Rome' concept.

Comments by black respondents on maintaining black culture are often terse and sometimes bitter, but generally fall into three distinct groupings. First are the comments which demand that blacks, especially West Indians, must retain as much of their former culture as possible. One suggestion is that

"There is an inherent compulsion for a race to maintain its identity."

Another respondent states his concern:

"Borrow the best and retain the best.  
There is a need for adaptation to the  
new culture (more technology etc.)  
but retain cultural artifacts ...  
appreciate the best in all."

A second group of respondents believes that blacks should adapt themselves to the new culture even if this means giving up most of their former ways.

"If you can't accept the new culture  
you should not go to a new country."

Another respondent agrees that something should be done, but states that he is an example of the fact that most

"do little about it".

Still another feels that

"blacks are more interested in making  
a quick buck and getting comfortable."

A third group, a small number, feels that there is very  
little which can be called West Indian culture ...

"there is no real Carribean culture  
because the Islanders are under  
British influence."

Considerable consensus emerges when we examine opinions  
regarding maintaining former cultures after arrival in Canada.  
West Indians, Africans, and Canadians tend to agree that an  
attempt should be made to continue many of the old cultural  
practices and values of black immigrants.

The youth sample, 86.8 percent (46), reinforce previously  
mentioned positive attitudes regarding the maintenance of one's  
former culture. Their most frequent concern, 83.0 percent (39),  
is the necessity of continuing one's former ways of life in  
order to strengthen black identity - this being vital in a  
predominantly white society.

Of the few who feel it important to give up the old ways,  
most, 81.8 percent, stress the 'need to adapt to the ways of  
one's country of residence'.



Fight the menace of racism



**BLACKS  
IN  
CANADA**

**A TIME FOR UNITY**

Promote pride  
to halt racism  
educator says

*Quality, not color*

*'This foolish  
fragmentation  
must stop'*

**Police must respect blacks**

Fighting discrimination  
through law

**Black Theatre Canada presents**

**BLACKS:**

fighting race bias

*They get sense of belonging*

New Metro group

*at their own YMCA centre*



Awareness and Interest in Maintaining Culture

The need for maintaining the culture and history of ethnic groups appears to be of some concern to Canadian governments, both at the federal and provincial levels. Even the municipal government provides grants to various ethnic groups for activities designed to reflect the Canadian Mosaic ... that concept of developing unity through diversity.

We were interested in ascertaining the feelings of blacks regarding their interest in maintaining black culture and history. Practically all respondents (98.5 percent) feel that at least to some degree, blacks are interested in their culture and history.

TABLE 26                      EXTENT OF AWARENESS AND INTEREST IN  
MAINTAINING ASPECTS OF BLACK CULTURE\*

<u>Amount</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A great deal	65	32.0
Some	82	40.4
Very little	53	26.1
Not at all	2	1.0
No opinion	1	0.5
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	210	100.0

While widely scattered, responses tend to concentrate on the importance of knowing one's own background. The considerable

\* Some observers would argue that African culture has been eliminated and that "black culture" is merely Western culture.

amount of public discussion about the subject, stimulated to some extent by the mass media, is also viewed as a reason for its interest to blacks. Many respondents in this group also feel that this awareness and interest provides 'security in being involved in black culture and community'.

The majority of respondents who feel blacks have only minimal interest in culture indicate that this attitude is related to a lack of education about black history and culture (28 respondents) and that secondly, there is a need for greater awareness and pride (26 respondents). Smaller numbers suggest that this minimal concern is due to blacks having merely a 'personal interest', and that 'only the young are interested in black culture.

Most members of the youth sample, 80.8 percent (42), recognize that at least some interest in their culture and history exists within the black population. Many of those feeling a great deal of awareness exists cite the interest and numerous discussions which blacks have about their history, entertainment, foods etc. Others refer to the increasing numbers of clubs, shops, and cultural centres and activities of black origin. One respondent, speaking certainly for others, emphasizes the importance of maintaining this awareness in order to promote "togetherness" within the black population.



On the other hand, some respondents deny that there is much awareness since there is so little education about black history and culture. Others stress a need for greater awareness and self-pride. One person suggests "most youth are not really concerned about finding out about their cultural heritage". Another says: "They should not promote Africanism so much - but rather their original cultural and island backgrounds". Finally, it is suggested that black immigrants "should understand the cultural differences here and after adjusting (to them) ... return to their own".

The largest single group of non-black respondents, almost 40.0 percent, believe that blacks have 'very little' interest in maintaining their old culture. The next largest group believe that some interest exists, while a minority of one-fourth believe there is a 'great deal' of interest on the part of blacks in maintaining their old culture. Several of the latter respondents believe that black interest is demonstrated by the current prevalence of discussion of black history, food, entertainment, etc.

Community Acceptance of Some Aspects  
of Black Culture

The considerable increase in the black population of Metropolitan Toronto has been reflected in many aspects of black culture being seen in this city for the first time.

West Indian restaurants serving 'soul food', 'afro' hair styles, the steel band sound, colourful dress, and other features of this culture are now a part of the Canadian mosaic. We were interested in how our respondents viewed these new phenomena in some specific manifestations ... entertainment, food and appearance.

TABLE 27 COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE OF BLACK CULTURE

	<u>Entertainment</u> <u>Music, dance etc.</u>		<u>Food</u>		<u>Appearance,</u> <u>Dress, hair</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Accepts enthusiastically	105	50.7	53	25.6	46	22.2
Accepts	72	34.8	83	40.1	97	46.9
Neutral	21	10.1	39	18.8	41	19.8
Does not accept	2	1.0	21	10.1	13	6.3
Mixed feelings	3	1.4	4	1.9	3	1.4
No opinion	4	1.9	7	3.4	7	3.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	207	100.0	207	100.0	207	100.0

Entertainment is felt to be the area in which most respondents feel there is general community acceptance. When we combine those who feel that community acceptance is 'enthusiastic' and those who feel the community merely 'accepts' these aspects of black culture, we find that entertainment receives 177 favourable responses, appearance 143, and food 136 favourable responses. Except in the case of food, only a very few respondents (less

than 10.0 percent) believe that members of the general community do not accept these aspects of black culture.

Generally, youth see the community as accepting specific black styles of food and dress, and accepting enthusiastically black entertainment forms.

Non-black respondents tend to feel that the general community looks favourably upon certain aspects of black culture. Almost 80.0 of these respondents feel that the community 'accepts' or 'accepts enthusiastically' entertainment reflecting the black culture. Smaller numbers, 61.0 believe that black or 'soul' foods are accepted in varying degrees. Appearance, including dress and hair-styles, are also viewed as 'accepted' in various degrees by two-thirds of the non-black respondents.

## 2. Satisfaction with Black/White Relationships

An unexpectedly high level of satisfaction with the relationships between blacks and the white population in the city is reported by our respondents.

TABLE 28  
SATISFACTION WITH BLACK/WHITE  
RELATIONS

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very satisfied	17	8.1
Satisfied	82	39.0
Neutral	68	32.4
Dissatisfied	35	16.7
Very dissatisfied	6	2.9
No opinion	2	1.0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	210	100.0

When we total the 'very satisfied' and the 'satisfied' columns, the result is 99 respondents or 47.1 percent of the total sample who see the way in which blacks and whites relate to one another in a positive sense. Only 41 respondents, or 19.8 percent, feel negatively. Unfortunately we did not ask respondents to indicate the reasons for their feelings and thus we are unable to account for this unexpected positive reaction. It should be noted, however, that the 'neutral' category received the second highest number of responses; that is, 32.8 percent of the total number of responses.

Because of the importance of this variable, we related it carefully to a number of other variables ... sex of respondents, perception of discrimination in housing, place of birth, income, and plans to return to the Islands.



Satisfaction Related to Perceptions of  
Housing Discrimination

Although almost one-quarter (23.0 percent of the black sample) perceives 'a great deal' of discrimination in housing, there is an even split between respondents who report either 'satisfaction' or 'dissatisfaction' with black/white relationships. More than four-fifths of those indicating the existence of some housing discrimination also state that they feel 'satisfied' or at least 'neutral' concerning black/white relationships.

TABLE 29    SATISFACTION WITH BLACK/WHITE RELATIONSHIPS BY  
PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

	<u>Great Deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Very well satisfied	2 4.3	8 8.6	2 6.7	4 22.2	0	0
Satisfied	13 27.7	34 36.6	18 60.0	7 38.9	0	8 50.0
Neutral	16 34.0	35 37.6	6 20.0	2 11.1	0	8 50.0
Dissatisfied	11 23.4	15 16.1	3 10.0	4 22.2	1 100.0	0
Very dissatisfied	4 8.5	0 0.0	1 3.3	1 5.6	0	0
No opinion	1 2.1	1 1.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	0	0
Column Total	47 22.9	93 45.4	30 14.6	18 8.8	1 0.5	16 7.8    205 100.0

### Satisfaction Related to Place of Birth

In general, a larger percentage of Canadian born respondents than West Indians, express varying degrees of satisfaction with black/white relationships. When we combine the numbers of respondents who express either 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' attitudes, we find that almost two-thirds, 62.8 percent of Canadians feel positively. Only 44.0 percent of West Indian respondents agree.

TABLE 30 SATISFACTION WITH BLACK/WHITE RELATIONSHIPS BY PLACE OF BIRTH

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>Very Satisfied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very Dissatisfied</u>	
Canada	4 11.4	18 51.4	10 28.6	1 <u>2.9</u>	2 5.7	35 16.7
West Indies	11 7.3	55 36.7	52 34.7	28 <u>18.7</u>	2 1.3	150 71.4

The reader should note that a distinctly larger number of West Indian respondents are 'dissatisfied' with black/white relationships in Metropolitan Toronto.

### Satisfaction Related to Income Levels

Respondents with higher incomes, that is incomes over \$9000.00 annually, appear to express a greater degree of satisfaction with black/white relationships than those with incomes less than that amount. More than a half, 54.5 percent, of respondents earning in excess of \$9,000.00 indicate satisfaction; only 44.6 percent of those earning less than \$9,000.00 express similar views. Almost 21.0 percent of the latter group express

strong or very strong dissatisfaction ... and only 14.0 percent of the upper income group are displeased with the association between blacks and whites.

#### Satisfaction Related to Plans to Return Home

As might be expected, most West Indian respondents planning to return home report a lower level of satisfaction with black/white relationships than those who plan to remain in Canada. Approximately 60.0 percent of the latter group are 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied', while only 28.0 percent of respondents who plan to return to the West Indies express positive feelings toward black/white relationships in Toronto.

#### The Youth Viewpoint

"What are your feelings about being black in a society with a white majority?"

Almost half of the respondents feel positively or very positively about this, indicating that they feel being black has little or no effect on their lifestyle. Some respondents indicate that a mixed community encourages growth and development. Twenty-five percent of the youths, however, do have negative feelings about being black in a basically white society - and their reasons predictably revolve around a preference for black culture and a difficulty in accepting the 'white' lifestyle. Living in a predominantly white community is believed to hinder or destroy the development of a strong black identity.

Of those who have already experienced discrimination in a personal way, thirteen (42 percent), nevertheless, feel positively about growing up as part of a society with a white majority; ten (32 percent), however, do hold a negative attitude - perhaps partially accounted for by their unfortunate experiences.

### 3. Attitudes Toward Black/White Social Relationships

Just as we wanted to ascertain people's feelings about particular areas of discrimination, we decided to ask their attitudes regarding specific social relationships between black and non-black racial groups. We chose four areas which were deemed to evoke some emotional responses: interracial friendships, dating, marriage, and the adoption of black children by white parents. Respondents were asked if they approved or disapproved of these relationships.

TABLE 31 ATTITUDES TOWARD ASPECTS OF  
BLACK/WHITE RELATIONSHIPS \*

Attitude toward Interracial	Friendship		Dating		Marriage		Adoption of Child	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Approve	180	86.1	132	63.5	97	46.9	101	49.3
Not approve	5	2.4	46	22.1	69	33.3	72	35.1
Mixed feelings	14	6.7	18	8.7	24	11.6	17	8.3
No opinion	10	4.8	12	5.8	17	8.2	15	7.3
	209	100.0	208	100.0	207	100.0	205	100.0

\* A few responses were inapplicable and thus not tabulated.



As indicated in the table, a very high percent of our respondents approve of interracial friendships (180 of the 210 respondents in this sample, or 86.1 percent). Approval of interracial dating, the adoption of children, and marriages between blacks and whites receive fewer positive reactions but, with the exception of interracial marriage, still achieve either a majority or near majority of the responses.

In contrast, there is a predominately neutral feeling, (53.7 percent - 29), among black youth regarding their satisfaction with black/white social relationships. Over one-third of this group, 35.2 percent (19), expresses a more positive attitude, however, and less than ten percent of the youth indicate dissatisfaction as such. One of the youth sees the issue as a problem "mainly for older folks".

When asked about their feelings regarding specific areas of social relationships, we encountered strong approval of interracial friendships, 96.3 percent (52); moderate acceptance of black/white dating, 57.4 percent (31); mixed feelings about interracial marriages, 46.3 percent (25) approving and 42.6 percent (23) disapproving; and finally a majority favourable attitude, 55.6 percent (30), towards the adoption of black children by white parents.

The majority of the non-black respondents, 61.5 percent, are satisfied with relations between blacks and other groups. Slightly more than 20 percent, however, are either 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied'. Virtually all non-black respondents, 92.5 percent, indicate that they approve of friendships between black and white individuals. Only three-fourths of these respondents, however, approve of interracial dating. Still fewer, 69.8 percent, approve of marriages between blacks and whites. The cross-racial adoption of children is approved by 67.0 percent of non-black respondents.

#### 4. Suggestions for Improving Relationships

The Report thus far has focussed upon the perception of adult blacks, youth, and non-blacks regarding discrimination against the black population in various areas of community life here in Metropolitan Toronto. It has also examined how blacks view themselves, how they perceive their acceptance, including various aspects of their life styles, by the general community. In addition, the Study has examined the relationship of the black population to other 'visible' minorities.

Now we turn to what blacks and non-blacks think should be done to improve the quality of the relationships between the two groups. Suggestions for improvement, obtained in an open question, are far ranging and widely scattered. No one suggestion obtained more than a relatively small percent of the responses.



# Forum on immigrants in school

May 16, 1975

A public forum on the problems of immigrant school children will be held at the St. Lawrence Centre

March 26.

will be Chris  
Toronto Bo  
cial

## Editorial

Let's  
save our city

When three black youths were accused of killing a Toronto taxi driver recently, a Hamilton television comentator seized the opportunity to call for an immediate stop to Black immigration to Canada.

.. When a black teenager, Michael Habbib was gunned down by a white youth last week, a Toronto broadcaster decided that Blacks must be stopped immediately from immigrating to Canada because whites will kill them.

.. He felt that racism was a natural thing and claimed its rise in Toronto was direct result of the increase in the black population in Canada.

.. And these are the people who shape public opinion. Is there then any wonder why the climate in this city is becoming so hostile to minorities and especially visible minorities.

.. The Toronto media, especially the Toronto Sun and the Star must be complimented for their editorials and coverage of the recent incidents. Together with the radio and television stations, they have shown they are beginning to understand the gravity of the present situation and the horrible effects racism can have on an entire community and city.

.. This is a very healthy sign and we can only hope the shame they seem to feel and the concern they seem to show is something permanent.

.. Toronto is still a good city compared to many North American cities and we still have time to completely wipe out acts of overt racism in our midst. We may not be able to wipe out racism itself because that is a personal matter but we can make the environment so unhealthy for racists that they will go back into their cocoons or change their ways.

.. We always say that we in this city are too intelligent to listen to the lunatic fringe and those cowardly racists. But there are those in our midst who are unbalanced mentally and will not or cannot sort out right from wrong. These must be protected from exposure to racist dogma.

.. We join with members of this community, both black and white, to call on the Canadian Radio and Television Commission to pay more attention to the airways by those who will propagate racism. We call on the individual radio and television stations and the newspapers to show good judgement in the material they allow to be used in their area of media.

.. We all must work to make a better Toronto or we must all suffer the consequences.

## Black HISTORY

## Women in Canada

to legislate changes  
to love their  
in the area  
of protection to  
spread of racism  
larger community

to curb racist graffiti  
Crombie's move to  
follow  
Citizens  
should

We welcome the forthright stand against racism taken by Tom Symons, the newly appointed director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

He is one of the few members of Ontario's 'officialdom' who has come out and made a direct statement condemning the overtly racist actions of a racist minority in the province, and also to admit that racial situation in Ontario is deteriorating.

We welcome his promise of an all out war against racism through the Human Rights Commission as well as and look forward to his implementing a program through the legal char which will bring the might of the law to bear on the 'fringe' which threatens the peace in the community rather than depend solely on moral persuasion.

## Humber holds Black history week

Voice of the people will quell racism

Visitors must be treated as guests

on Black  
Student  
Conference

A conference on 'The Special Case of the Black Student' sponsored by the Department of Special Education for Students, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, on Mar. 14-15 at 252 Bloor Street, West.





TABLE 32                      WAYS OF IMPROVING BLACK/WHITE  
RELATIONSHIPS

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Exposure to lifestyles	37	17.6
Openmindedness	22	10.5
Shared community involvement	21	10.0
Develop greater understanding	34	16.2
Individual improvement	9	4.3
Less arrogance	3	1.4
Treatment of blacks as individuals	11	5.2
Restricted immigration	1	0.5
Blacks improve self image	10	4.8
Educate whites about blacks	28	13.3
Not important	2	1.0
No opinion	16	7.6
Other	5	2.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	199	100.0

However, these suggestions can be grouped into three fairly broad categories. First, recommendations for increased contacts and communications. These include suggestions for 'shared community involvement', 'increased exposure to the lifestyles' of each other, and the need to 'educate whites about blacks'.

A second group of recommendations encourages a change in attitudes 'toward greater open-mindedness', and 'developing greater understanding'.

A third group of responses is directed toward the need for changes in the black population itself ... 'blacks should improve their self-image', and blacks should involve themselves in 'individual improvement'.

Some comments on improving relationships are as follows:

"There is a need for integration in social clubs. Whites should encourage this; mixed marriages should not be decried or looked upon as a social evil."

"There is a need for more black teachers and social workers to educate the 'masses'."

"Blacks and whites do not communicate. If both sides try they could break down the walls. Now I don't feel comfortable with whites."

"Black cultural activities are good but blacks are prejudiced against whites and this must be diminished too."

Methods suggested by youth for the development of better relationships between black and white members of society include a need to (a) 'develop greater understanding' (this generally refers to a reciprocal need) and (b) become increasingly 'open-minded'. One respondent supports the idea that there should be

"more meeting of the minds among youth since it is impossible to change the older generation. It would help if schools and teachers would show blacks and whites that there is a history and culture that blacks are proud of."

Other suggestions include:

"Blacks should attempt to set an example of themselves, that should change white thinking which might bring the whites to reconsider their attitude to blacks."

"The government should allow things to move naturally community-wise. Open-mindedness will eventually come."

"Blacks should be given a fair chance to prove themselves."

"The government should have laws against racial names."

Non-black respondents also had a variety of suggestions for improving relationships between the two groups. More than one half- of these respondents (55.3 percent) agree on one idea, that of 'shared community involvement' and 'developing greater understanding'. A few other respondents in this sample suggest that 'educating whites about blacks' and a more 'open attitude' would be helpful in improving relationships.

Some recommendations from this sample are:

"Moderate blacks should prevail upon whites and radical blacks to be more understanding."

"Ensure that all members of ethnic minorities have full and equal access

to the opportunities and benefits of society through effective service delivery institutions and adequate legislation to correct abuses. Also there must be a greater attempt to educate Canadians regarding the problems and benefits related to immigration."

"Get rid of 'Black Power' and 'White Power'. Mostly white power is very dangerous - mostly white people find their identity through this group. The white power group is very malicious."

"Blacks should be more proud of their heritage and give themselves a cultural and historical value. Education (should be happening) between blacks and whites. It's a good slogan: 'Black is Beautiful'."

"Black and white students chum around together in the school but you don't see that outside school. They should try to get along better outside the school situation."

##### 5. Attitudes Toward Relations Between Black and Other Visible Groups

The majority of our respondents, 117 or 56.5 percent, express 'neutral' feelings in response to a question regarding their general attitudes about relationships between blacks and other visible minorities. (Non-black visible minorities include these groups: Chinese, Canadian and East Indians, Japanese, Filipinos, etc.) However, the next largest group, 48 respondents or 28.0 percent, report a generally positive attitude toward other visible minorities. Very small numbers



express 'very good' feelings, or 'very negative' feelings towards any members of these groups.

TABLE 33      GENERAL FEELING RE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN  
BLACKS AND OTHER VISIBLE MINORITIES

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Very good	7	3.4
Good	48	28.0
Neutral	117	56.5
Fairly bad	15	7.2
Bad	2	1.0
Mixed	1	0.5
No opinion	7	3.4
	<hr/> 207	<hr/> 100.0

In accordance with the adult viewpoint nearly two-thirds (64.8 percent) of the youth express 'neutral' feelings concerning this issue. Nearly all other members of this sample feel that the relationship between blacks and other visible minorities is a good one.

It appears that blacks generally have a mildly positive feeling toward other visible minorities.

#### 6. Attitudes Toward Increased Immigration to Toronto

In spite of the fairly high degree of discrimination reported by our respondents, a majority (58.6 percent) 'favour'

the arrival of increased numbers of black immigrants. When we add to this group the respondents who 'favour with reservations' increased black immigration (29.0 percent), the very high number of 184 respondents results. This is 87.6 percent of the 210 respondents comprising the sample.

TABLE 34            ATTITUDES TOWARD INCREASED IMMIGRATION

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Favour	123	58.6
Not favour	11	5.2
Favour with reservations	61	29.0
No opinion	15	7.1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	210	100.0

Reasons for favouring increased immigration, but with reservations, focus upon certain responsibilities which respondents believe immigrants should assume. These respondents (29.0 percent of the sample) are saying 'yes' to the question, but only provided that the immigrants are: (a) 'able to get appropriate jobs and housing', or (b) are 'adaptable'.

A very small number of respondents feel that immigrants should come only if they are 'willing to become involved in community life', or are 'well educated' or are 'both educated and skilled'.

Negative feelings toward increased immigration are, as indicated above, represented by only 11 respondents or 5.2

percent of the sample. Reasons for these feelings by this small group are also quite dispersed, but are related to what appears to be the result of negative impressions about the country and about the black population. For example, two respondents report that Canada offers "inadequate job opportunities"; three others feel that "black power" movements may develop; another two believe that there are "better opportunities in their homeland".

As indicated above, a majority of respondents favour increased black immigration to Canada and to Toronto. However, a considerably larger percent of West Indian respondents (62.6 percent) favour this step as compared with Canadian respondents (34.2 percent).

TABLE 35      ATTITUDE TOWARD INCREASED IMMIGRATION  
BY PLACE OF BIRTH

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Canada</u>		<u>West Indies</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Favour	12	34.3	94	62.7
Do not favour	2	5.7	9	6.0
Favour with reservations	19	54.3	37	24.7
No opinion	2	5.7	10	6.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	35		150	

But when the numbers 'favouring' and those 'favouring with reservations' are combined, the differences are not at all great ... West Indian, 87.4 percent, and Canadian, 88.6 percent.

The table indicates that a much larger percent of Canadians express some reservations than West Indians.

The majority of youth (35 or 66 percent) favour increased immigration, suggesting that there are better opportunities for blacks here and that their coming will result in a strengthened black community. An additional 28 percent (15) are in favour but with reservations.

More than half the non-black respondents (28 or 52.8 percent) favour increased immigration but with some reservations. Of those openly in favour of increased immigration (17 or 32.1 percent) the major feeling is that Canada should be open to all who wish to come.

#### 7. Attitude Toward Neighbourhood and Country

Respondents tend to like the areas in which they live. A strong majority, 78.1 percent (164), of the respondents express satisfaction or extreme satisfaction with their neighbourhoods. The reasons for such positive attitudes range from its being a quiet and/or friendly area to its convenience to work, school, commercial facilities, to its centrality.



TABLE 36 NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Like very much	73	35.3
Like	91	44.0
Neutral	33	15.9
Dislike	6	2.9
Dislike very much	1	0.5
	<hr/> 204	<hr/> 100.0

Few people (1.9 percent) mention the fact that it is a 'mixed' neighbourhood or a neighbourhood with many blacks (1.4 percent). This factor does not seem to be significant in the appreciation of one's neighbourhood. Sixteen percent (33) of the black population have neutral feelings about the area in which they live but only 3.4 percent dislike where they live. Some of the latter group feel their neighbourhood is unfriendly and some resent public housing accommodation.

If the opportunity to choose between life in Canada or the United States were presented, the majority, 85.5 percent (171), of the respondents in this sample would prefer to reside in Canada. Only 8.5 percent would choose the United States, mostly because of anticipated improved economic opportunity. The remaining 6 percent feel uncertain or have no opinion.

Those whose choice is Canada indicate a greater sense of security here. They comment on Canada's being "safe", having fewer race problems, less hostility, less tension, and greater

social-political stability. "It is a pleasant place to be - its atmosphere and people appealing."

Turning to the youth sample, most (87 percent) live with their families and more than half the respondents (51.8 percent) are satisfied, even very satisfied with their neighbourhoods, citing particularly friendliness and a mixed racial population as the reasons. Of those feeling negatively about their neighbourhoods ironically the reasons stated are the 'unfriendliness of the neighbourhood' ("it's extremely cold; there is no soul") and/or a displeasure in living in a mixed community. One respondent indicates a sense of insecurity because police are always "hanging around" in his neighbourhood which is largely black. Another respondent states "Senior citizens are not too partial to blacks".

#### 8. Concern About Possible Ghetto Development in Toronto

We wondered whether there might be some concern about the development of ghetto situations in Toronto such as exist in many urban centres of the United States. The people are optimistic - 161 respondents or 76.7 percent of the group feel that ghetto development will not be a problem here. And the approach to this view is interesting in its variety. Many people (54) suggest it is unlikely since blacks do not tend to concentrate in one area. Nor would blacks tolerate the development of a ghetto according to another 9 percent.

TABLE 37                      CONCERN ABOUT GHETTO DEVELOPMENT

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	35	16.7
No	161	77.0
Unsure	13	6.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	209	100.0

Some people approached the ghetto question from a different slant, considering the theoretical element of the ghetto as a congregation of people living together. Forty-three people answered the question in this way favouring the development of the ghetto for the following reasons:

A community of blacks is a positive state (32.6 percent).

It increases black solidarity (23.3 percent).

It increases social well being and strengthens the self-image of blacks (20.9 percent).

A few see the ghetto as increasing economic power in the black community (9.3 percent).

Thirty-five respondents (16.7 percent), however, do fear the possibility of ghetto development in Toronto. Reasons for concern are scattered, fear of discontent or disharmony, fear of future economic disadvantage, or increased discrimination and violence. Some feel increased concentrations of blacks may lead to overcrowding and perhaps further stereotyping.

Youth (83.0 percent - 44) are not concerned about ghetto development especially since blacks do not tend to concentrate

in specific areas and they would not in any case tolerate such a situation. Few black youth perceive the ghetto as a positive force to unite the black community. Negative opinion, although minimal, suggest concern that the "lower classes" might constitute a ghetto problem due to their lack of opportunities and a paucity of interest in bettering themselves.

Approximately two-thirds of the non-black respondents in this sample report that they are not concerned about the possible development of a black ghetto in Metro Toronto. The majority (51.9 percent - 14) stress that blacks do not tend to live in concentrated areas.

The remaining third indicates some concern about this type of development ... related to a fear of 'economic problems' and to the possibilities of 'discontent and increased violence'.



## CHAPTER VI

### DISCRIMINATION -

#### GENERAL PERCEPTIONS AND EFFECTS ON RESPONDENTS

##### 1. Character of Discrimination

It may be recalled that many of our leadership group and other observers cited in our review of the literature on discrimination, referred to discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto as "polite and hypocritical". Canadians, it has been pointed out like to think of themselves as non-racist, and therefore unlikely to encounter the racial problems faced by the citizens of the United States. With this in mind, we asked our respondents whether they felt that discrimination against blacks in Metropolitan Toronto was 'mostly overt' or 'mostly subtle'.

A large majority of the adult black respondents (184 or 89.8 percent) feel that discrimination is 'mostly subtle'. Only 15 respondents (7.3 percent) feel that discrimination is 'mostly overt'.

Youth respondents tend to agree with the adult population. Likewise, virtually all non-black respondents (90.2 percent) feel that discrimination against blacks in Toronto tends to be subtle rather than overt.

## 2. Perceptions of Discrimination in Various Aspects of Community Life

We are not, at this point, attempting to examine the personal experiences of respondents, but rather to obtain their perceptions of discrimination against black people generally. We asked for their opinions regarding the incidence of discrimination, and whether or not they feel that, on examining certain areas of community life, discrimination has increased or decreased. We were particularly concerned about housing, employment, community services (including schools, social service agencies, medical services, recreational programmes), and finally, commercial organizations and agencies. The latter include banks, mortgage companies, insurance companies, etc.

Specifically we asked "To what extent do you feel that discrimination exists against blacks in Metropolitan Toronto?" Second, we asked for attitudes relating to whether or not respondents feel that discrimination has increased, remained the same, or decreased during the last three years. The following Table indicates the number and percent of respondents who feel that varying degrees of discrimination are practised against blacks in the categories indicated above.

TABLE 38 PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION IN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY LIFE

	Housing		Employment		Community Services		Commerical Services	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>
Great amount	47	22.9	75	36.2	16	8.2	20	9.9
Some	93	45.4	83	40.1	69	35.4	74	36.5
Very little	30	14.6	23	11.1	32	16.4	30	14.8
None	18	8.8	14	6.8	21	10.8	50	24.6
Unsure	1	0.5	12	5.8	2	1.0	29	14.3
N/A	16	7.8	3		55	28.2	7	
	<u>205</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>195</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The largest number of respondents in all categories, housing, employment, community services and commercial agencies, feel that 'some discrimination is practised against blacks'.

(a) Housing

As indicated in the Table, almost one-fourth of the respondents in the adult black sample report feeling that a 'great amount' of discrimination against blacks exists in the area of housing. Slightly less than one-half (45.4 percent) feel that 'some' discrimination exists. When combined, these two groups represent more than two-thirds of the total sample (68.3 percent). Less than 10 percent believe that no discrimination exists in housing.

Cross-tabulations of perceptions of housing discrimination with place of birth reveal some significant differences between

Canadian and West Indian born respondents. Almost one-fourth of West Indians believe that there is a 'great amount' of housing discrimination; only 8.8 percent of Canadian born blacks agree. When we combine the percent of those who believe there is 'a great amount' and 'some' discrimination in housing, the comparison is much closer ... 67.6 percent of Canadians and 68.7 percent of West Indian born respondents.

The sex of the respondent does not appear to make any significant difference in his perceptions of discrimination in housing.

Close to half of those youth (41 percent) who have some knowledge of the situation, and feel capable of commenting, say that there is 'some' discrimination in housing. Another sizeable number of youth respondents, approximately 30 percent, believe that 'a great amount' of discrimination exists in this area.

Virtually one-half of the non-black respondents (49.1 percent) believe that 'some' discrimination against blacks occurs in the area of housing accommodation. A few others suggest that 'a great deal' of discrimination exists; only nine respondents feel that there is no housing discrimination against blacks.



Increase or Decrease

When asked whether or not they feel that discrimination in housing is increasing, remaining about the same, or decreasing, we find that the largest single group of black adult respondents (43.8 percent) feel that it has 'decreased'. Another large group feels that it has remained 'about the same'.

TABLE 39 ATTITUDES TOWARD INCREASE OR DECREASE IN DISCRIMINATION IN LAST THREE YEARS

	<u>Housing</u>		<u>Employment</u>		<u>Community Services</u>		<u>Commercial Agencies</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>P.C.</u>
Increased	40	19.2	56	26.9	30	14.9	26	12.7
Decreased	91	43.8	77	37.0	68	33.7	78	38.0
About the same	58	27.9	65	31.3	74	36.6	79	38.5
Mixed opinion	-	-	-	-	2	1.0	1	0.5
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>9.1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>13.9</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>10.2</u>
	208	100.0	208	100.0	202	100.0	205	100.0

The youth sample departs from the adult world in its perception of increases in discrimination, particularly in housing. Over one-third of the youth sample (36.5 percent) believe that there has been an increase in housing discrimination during the last three years. This compares with 19.2 percent of the adult black sample and 25.0 percent of the non-black sample who express this view. Again, only one-fourth of the youth, as compared with 43.8 percent of the adult black sample, believe that housing discrimination has decreased during the last three years.

Non-black respondents are quite scattered in their opinions regarding whether or not there has been an increase or decrease in housing discrimination during the last three years. The largest group, 34.6 percent, believe that it is 'about the same'. Almost identical numbers believe that discrimination has increased (25.0 percent) and decreased (26.9 percent).

(b) Employment

More respondents, 36.2 percent, feel that a 'great amount' of discrimination exists against blacks in employment than in any other area. This compares with 22.9 percent of respondents who feel this way about discrimination in housing, 8.2 percent in community services, and 9.9 percent in commercial agencies and organizations. Very few respondents, only 6.8 percent in this sample, suggest that no employment discrimination exists against blacks.

A larger percent of West Indian respondents (39.5 percent) than Canadians (14.3 percent) also believe that a 'great amount' of discrimination exists in employment. Canadian born blacks tend to express a more moderate position; 57.1 percent feel that there is 'some' discrimination as compared with 38.1 percent of West Indian respondents who express this opinion.

Forty-five percent (45.0) of the youth responding to the question indicate that there is 'some' discrimination in job situations. Of the remainder, approximately equal numbers

envision a 'great amount' or 'very little' employment discrimination.

The largest group of non-black respondents, 37.7 percent, believes that 'some discrimination' in employment exists against blacks. Slightly more, 41.5 percent, believe that 'very little' or 'no' employment discrimination exists within the black population.

#### Increase or Decrease

Reactions to increases and decreases in employment discrimination are quite mixed. While the largest group of respondents (37.0 percent) feels employment discrimination has decreased, a significantly large group (26.9 percent) suggests that it has increased. When related to the two major population groups, we note that almost one-third of Canadian black respondents feel that discrimination is increasing. Approximately a fourth of West Indian respondents agree.

Nearly three-quarters of the youth sample see discrimination in employment as 'decreasing' (41.5 percent) or 'about the same' (30.2 percent).

Non-black respondents tend to express a more positive feeling about employment discrimination. Most feel that it has

remained 'about the same' (36.5 percent) or 'decreased' (32.7 percent). Only seven of 53 non-black respondents, or 13.5 percent, believe that discrimination in employment has increased.

(c) Community Services

Again, as in housing and employment, the largest single group of black respondents (35.4 percent) feels that 'some' discrimination exists against blacks in community or social services. Very few respondents, only 8.8 percent, indicate that they believe a 'great amount' of discrimination exists against blacks in this area of community life.

Although possibly lacking a great deal of knowledge of most other community services, it was assumed that the youth respondents would be capable of speaking from first hand experience concerning discrimination in the schools. Thirty-nine of the fifty-three youth in this sample responded to questions on this subject. Equal numbers indicate that there is 'some' or 'very little' discrimination within the school system. A few other youth indicate that there is no evidence of discrimination in the school system, while only two respondents suggest that a 'great deal' exists.

Non-black respondents (62 percent) suggest that there ranges from 'some' to 'no' discrimination within agencies and no respondents believe that a 'great amount' of such discrimination exists.



Increase or Decrease

Respondent perception of discrimination in community services again emphasizes the 'decreased' or 'about the same' attitude. Only 30 respondents or 14.9 percent feel that discrimination in this area has increased, while more than 70 percent suggest that it has remained 'about the same' or 'decreased'. However, a fairly large group (13.9 percent) has no opinion, probably reflecting a lack of experience with community agencies.

Non-black respondents generally agree with these perceptions. Only a small minority feel that discrimination has increased in the area of community services during the last three years.

(d) Commercial Organizations

Slightly less than ten percent of the adult black respondents report feeling that a 'great amount' of discrimination exists against blacks in commercial services. Again, as in the other categories, the largest single group of respondents (36.5 percent) feels that 'some' discrimination occurs. But approximately one-fourth of the respondents feel that there is 'none'.

The largest single group (36.5 percent) of non-black respondents believe that there is no discrimination occurring within commercial agencies. Another 35 percent suggest that there may be 'some' or 'very little' such discrimination.

Increase or Decrease

Again, most respondents feel that discrimination has remained the same or decreased during the last three years. Only 26 respondents or 12.7 percent feel that it has increased. However, a fairly large number, 10.2 percent, have no opinion ... this again suggests a lack of experience in dealing with commercial agencies.

Non-black respondents tend to agree with black respondents in their perceptions of increased or decreased discrimination during the last three years. Only 13.7 percent of the non-black respondents feel that discrimination against blacks by commercial organizations has increased.

(e) Perception of the Future Situation by the Youth

"How do you see discriminatory attitudes changing in the next five years?"

The majority of respondents (60 percent) indicate a positive feeling. They attribute a decrease in discrimination in the near future to the more liberal attitudes of young people and a general increased open-mindedness. "It's not worth bothering about. It will disappear in future generations."

Of those whose opinion is less optimistic - 25 percent report a neutral position, "It cannot be easily predicted. If it doesn't decrease it will continue the same"; 15.4 percent react negatively - some perceive simply an increase in discrimination; some feel prejudice will be more overt - and a few

sense that greater numbers of blacks will bring about increased white antagonism.

### 3. Personal Experiences with Discrimination

It is one thing to express one's perceptions, opinions and attitudes concerning the prejudice and discrimination experienced by blacks generally; it is another and a quite different situation to express one's own experiences and reactions when subjected to personal discrimination. We have attempted, in this chapter, to present the personal experiences of black respondents who have been the victims of discriminatory actions. It is important to know how many of our respondents have had such experience; how they felt about it; what action, if any, was taken; and what they feel should be done in the future to deal with the problem of discrimination.

Almost sixty percent of our respondents report that they have experienced some form of discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto. We clearly asked for Toronto experiences rather than experiences which may have occurred in other places.

TABLE 40      PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION  
                    IN TORONTO

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	123	58.9
No	79	37.8
Unsure	7	3.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	209	100.0

In view of the possibility that certain variables might have some influence on the incidence of discrimination against some groups, we decided to test for differences based upon place of birth, age, income level, and sex.

More than half of the respondents of both major groups, Canadian and West Indian born, report having experienced some degree of discrimination. Differences in the percent subjected to discrimination are not significant.

An almost identical percentage of youth respondents (58.5 percent - 31) affirm that they have experienced discriminatory situations during the last three years.

Areas in which Discrimination has been Experienced

The areas of discrimination reported by black respondents are quite scattered, but as in the case of perceived discrimination, they centre around housing and employment experiences. It should be noted that employment discrimination is divided into two categories; those who report discrimination in filing applications for job situations, and those who experience discrimination while actually engaged in their employment. Similarly, housing discrimination is divided into reports of discrimination in rental housing and in attempts to purchase a house.



TABLE 41 PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF DISCRIMINATION \*

<u>Type of discrimination</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Housing; rental	43	35.0
Housing; purchase	5	4.1
Employment	23	18.9
Job application	24	19.5
Neighbourhood	3	2.4
Shopping	3	2.4
Schools	8	6.5
Hospitals	4	3.3
Immigration	4	3.3
Police	2	1.9
Other	4	3.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	123	100.0

Over half, 59 percent (31) of the youth sample have experienced discrimination in one or more areas\*\*. More, 27.6 percent, experiences occurred in school situations than in any other single area and of these incidents, descriptions suggest 'unfair treatment by teacher or administration' to be the main cause. Lesser numbers indicate specifically 'unfairness in grading' and 'name calling'. One respondent tells of a teacher

\* Table relates to first reported instance only. Some respondents (48) reported two or more discriminatory situations. Altogether approximately 187 discriminatory experiences were mentioned.

\*\* Percentages relate to first reported instance only.

who, during the singing of the national anthem, reprimanded him, saying: "Stand up straight. Remember, you are a visitor to Canada".

Small numbers of youth also report having faced discrimination in other areas of community life. There were five references to discrimination by police, each respondent citing 'unfair treatment to youth' as the problem. Reports include the police "chasing, wrongly accusing and beating up" a black youth, "unfair accusations of loitering", and one situation where the police broke up a fight but neglected to help retrieve the black youth's stolen pants!

There are no reports of immigration problems by respondents in our youth sample. One of the local black newspapers, however, has highlighted problems which students at a community college have encountered with the Immigration Department.

#### 4. Nature of Personal Discriminatory Experiences

It is important, we believe, to inquire into the precise nature of the various types of discrimination reported by respondents. Unlike in questions concerning discrimination in the general community, we felt it necessary to ask unstructured questions so that the respondent could state, in his or her own words, precisely what happened in the reported incident. These responses were then coded and are presented in the following categories. In some instances, the numbers of reasons do not coincide with the total numbers of incidents reported. This is

either because the person gave more than one explanation or did not explain the situation in detail.

(a) Rental Housing

Forty-three respondents report that they have been refused accommodation in rental housing by landlords. Several different reasons were given by these landlords and reported by varying numbers of respondents. The most frequently given explanations for their refusal are: (a) 'being accepted by telephone, but refused when applying in person' (30.4 percent); and (b) 'being told that the apartment or flat was rented although the sign advertising the accommodation was still up' (34.8 percent).

Difficulties in the purchase of a house are reported by only five interviewees. In one instance the respondent was quoted a higher price than was listed. Another person was told his income was "not adequate".

One respondent was turned down in an effort to purchase a house. He later moved into another new house. Following this move, a newspaper reporter phoned to say that a petition was being circulated to have him removed "because he had set up a dental office in this home". No action, however, was taken.

(b) Job Applications

Twenty-four respondents report their own personal experiences when applying for jobs. The reasons given for refusal

to accept their applications are, as in housing, varied and scattered. Small numbers were told there were 'no jobs available'; the applicant 'lacked Canadian experience'; 'his or her qualifications were not appropriate'; or the 'job was not suitable'. In one-half of the 24 incidents, the applicants were told that the 'jobs were already taken', or the respondents believed that jobs were available but whites only were being hired.

(c) Employment

Twenty-three respondents mention discriminatory treatment on the job. Eleven of these, or almost one-half, report that they have been told that they have 'little or no chance for promotion'. The next largest group of six respondents state that they have been subjected to varying types of 'unfair treatment'. A few others indicate that they have experienced frequent layoffs and more demands were made of them while working. They have been subjected to 'unfair restrictions' regarding sick leave, holidays etc.

Fear of Job or Promotion Refusal

Several of the leadership group suggest that many black youth and adults do not apply for certain jobs because they fear rejection on the basis of their colour. We questioned our respondents as to whether they had personally encountered such a problem. The majority have not. Of the 33 respondents, or 16 percent, who have not made applications for certain positions,



over half (19 respondents) cite fear of rejection as the specific basis for their decision not to apply.

There is no significant difference between Canadians and West Indians in this area. Only 14.7 percent of Canadian and 16.9 percent of the West Indian respondents have not applied for a job due to a fear of rejection.

#### Denial of Promotion

Another aspect of discrimination in employment is that of employers refusing to promote blacks on the same basis as white employees. We asked respondents to inform us of any incidents which they feel reflected denial of job promotions on the basis of race or colour. This is obviously an area of subjective judgement and perceptions may not be accurate. However, we felt, as indicated earlier in this Report, that in instances of this kind subjective judgement, and not necessarily the accurate facts, is the basis for feelings and attitudes.

Nineteen percent (40) of the respondents report feeling they have been denied promotions because of discriminatory attitudes. Almost three-quarters of the adult black respondents (152) state that this type of discrimination has not occurred in their experience in Toronto.

Basically the reasons for not applying for promotions are similar to those involved in the reluctance to apply for certain jobs; that is, fear of the application being rejected and a 'lack of previous favourable experience'.

(d) Neighbourhood Discrimination

Only three respondents report that they have been subjected to incidents involving discrimination in the neighbourhoods in which they live. These involve 'name calling' and 'physical abuse'.

(e) Shops and Services

Again, only a few respondents report experiences involving discrimination in shops and other services. One respondent mentions 'rudeness in service'; two others indicate 'inappropriate delays in service'.

(f) Schools

In the adult sample nine respondents discuss having experienced discriminatory treatment in educational programmes. These would have occurred while the respondent was still in the educational system or to another member of the respondent's family. Except for 'unfair treatment' reported by four respondents, only one incident is reported in each of the following areas: 'unfair grading', 'channeling students into technical or vocational courses', 'stereotyping of black students', and 'name-calling'. Some comments suggest that the teacher is in a position to lessen many of these discriminatory tendencies.

"Many teachers feel that black students are not capable of handling university courses and they are advised to attend trade schools."

"Teachers see blacks as working with their hands rather than with their heads. Sometimes the accent (of West Indian children) causes a barrier and the kids themselves take advantage of this, and do not apply themselves."

"Teachers want to see the black in a position where he can be oppressed ... too much education would get him out of this situation."

(g) Organized Recreational Programmes or Social Activities

Again, only a small number of incidents are reported. Eight respondents mention discriminatory experiences, largely related to 'not being allowed to participate in sports or in a club', or being 'isolated or singled out in social situations'. One respondent was "refused admission to a dance".

(h) Hospitals

Only four respondents discuss discrimination in hospitals or medical services. 'Unfair treatment' is reported by three of these respondents; the other feels that he was subjected to an 'inappropriate delay in obtaining service'.

(i) Police, Legal Aid and Immigration

Very few respondents have personally experienced discriminatory treatment by the police, in legal aid, and in immigration. Two respondents report having been subjected to 'unfair treatment' by the police; one experienced an 'inappropriate delay in service' by legal aid officials; and one respondent feels he was given 'unfair or improper treatment by an Immigration Officer'.

## 5. Reaction to Acts of Discrimination

Most of the black adult respondents who replied to a question inquiring about their reactions to incidents of discrimination were either 'angry' or 'upset'. This is, of course, a perfectly natural reaction. Smaller numbers report that they felt indifferent or depressed or resentful. It is interesting, however, that some respondents state that they simply 'accepted' or 'tolerated' discriminatory behaviour.

TABLE 42                      REACTION TO PERSONAL DISCRIMINATION

<u>Reaction</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Angry	42	41.2
Indifferent	3	2.9
Upset	29	28.4
Ignored behaviour	8	7.8
Depressed and resentful	2	2.0
Accepted - tolerated	12	11.8
No reaction	1	1.0
Other	1	1.0
N/A	4	3.9
	<hr/> 102	<hr/> 100.0

As with the adult population, most of the youth sample who have experienced personal discrimination, also reacted with feelings of anger, shock or frustration (37.0 percent) or feelings of being upset and perhaps hurt (40.7 percent).



6. Action Taken Related to Personal Discrimination

The following is an example of a case of discrimination which occurs while a respondent is at work in a factory. He has "complained about a slack white employee who was causing a pile up on the assembly line. Even with evidence, management sided with the white worker", reprimanded the respondent and threatened his dismissal. The respondent took the case to a lawyer who dealt well with the situation. "He threatened to take the case to the Labour Relations Board if it recurred." The respondent was very satisfied with the outcome.

A significant fact arising from this data is the very large number of respondents who took no action when subjected to discrimination. Although a larger percent of Canadians (52.4 percent) than West Indians (49.4 percent) did not take any action, the difference is not significant. Also important is the fact that many Canadian born and West Indian respondents, when they did act, merely discussed the incident with relatives or friends. Only a very few respondents reported acts of discrimination to police, lawyers, or others who might help.

TABLE 43 ACTION TAKEN RE DISCRIMINATION

<u>Complained to</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Relative or friend	23	19.3
Police	1	0.8
OHRC	12	10.1
Lawyer	1	0.8
Superior-Superintendent	12	10.1
No action taken	57	47.9
Other	13	10.9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	119	100.0

An important aspect of our look at the kinds of action taken is the limited number of respondents who complained to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. To the extent that this sample is representative, only approximately one of every ten individuals who suffers some degree of discrimination actually complains to the official agency whose function it is to handle these types of complaints.

The youth sample also reflects the general pattern of behaviour related to taking action when subjected to discriminatory acts. In spite of their often intense emotional reactions to discrimination, again slightly less than one-half (46.4 percent) took no action. Most of those who did act on the discriminatory incident, simply discussed the matter with a friend (35.7 percent).

## 7. Reasons Why No Action Taken

The reasons why no action was taken by 57 of the 119 black adult respondents who answered this question were widely scattered. Respondents reported as follows:

(a)	The incident was too difficult to prove	14
(b)	The incident was not important	12
(c)	Respondent was 'not aware' of agencies available	10
(d)	Agencies seen as ineffective	9
(e)	Respondent did not want to take the time or trouble to complain	10
(f)	Respondent did not want involvement in situations when unwanted	7
(g)	Respondent dealt with situation personally	4

We did not relate these reactions to any particular types of discrimination, but since employment and housing constitute the most frequent problem areas, the reasons given above probably apply largely to these two.

The reasons why youth did not take action when faced with a discriminatory act varied, but focused mainly on the following explanations: the incident was 'too difficult to prove'; or 'not sufficiently important'; 'agencies are ineffective'; or finally, the 'whole thing would involve too much time'.

## 8. Result of Complaints

There have been complaints in the community to the effect that very little action has been taken against individuals and organizations which discriminate against black citizens in

Metropolitan Toronto. Even the Ontario Human Rights Commission has been criticized by some black groups for inaction, and ineffectiveness. (See section of this Report on the Human Rights Commission.)

These charges led us to examine the experiences of the limited number of respondents who did complain when subjected to discrimination. As indicated in Table 43, 119 respondents had experienced some personal discrimination, but only 62 of these had complained to any source. Many respondents only spoke to a relative or friend and no further action was contemplated. Only 26 respondents complained to some appropriate individual or organization, i.e. an organization which could be expected to take some action. In these cases we asked what was the result of the action taken.

In four situations, apartments were made available; in three others the offender was reprimanded; in three cases, the group complained to was unable to deal with the situation; and in twelve situations, the largest number, no solution was found to the problem.

## 9. Satisfaction with Results

Thirty-two respondents replied to the question. But the largest number of these, 11 respondents, indicated that they were 'very satisfied' with the results obtained in connection with their complaint. Four others suggested some degree of



satisfaction. However, the picture was not all positive; fourteen respondents felt 'somewhat dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' with the results obtained.

#### 10. Prejudice and Discrimination in Specific Situations

##### (a) Disapproval of Being with White Persons

We were interested in getting some idea of whether or not our respondents had ever experienced approval or disapproval of contacts they may have had with white individuals or groups. First, we asked if they had ever been involved in a situation of this type. Only 48 respondents, or 23.5 percent, have ever experienced this particular problem. Of this group, the majority, (35 or 76.1 percent) indicates that the incidents of disapproval generally occur in situations in which there is "mixed socializing". The disapproval comes mainly from friends or from strangers.

Most, 35 of the 48 respondents who have had the experience of disapproval of mixed socializing, report that an incident has not occurred recently, or perhaps only once to three times during the last year. A very few respondents report some disapproval of their mixed marriages by friends or others.

Less than one-fifth of the youth sample have encountered a situation in which they have sensed disapproval of their relationship with a white person; however, one-half of these have

experienced such disapproval at least five times during the last year.

Slightly more than one-fourth of the respondents in the non-black sample report having been in interracial situations, usually socializing with blacks, in which friends or even strangers have demonstrated some degree of disapproval. Two-thirds of this sample, however, have never encountered this type of situation.

(b) Experiences of and with Other 'Visible' Groups

The record of discriminatory incidents against the black population has been documented in this and other reports referred to in this Study. The Helling Study compared discriminatory practices against blacks in Windsor, Ontario with those against the Chinese and Italian population. We wanted to know what our respondents thought about discrimination in relation to other visible minorities, e.g. do these groups confront more or less discrimination than do blacks? If the respondent replied in the affirmative, we asked "what groups experience the greatest amount of discrimination?"

An overwhelming number, 185 or 88.5 percent, of our respondents reply that members of the other minority groups do experience acts of discrimination from members of the larger community. Only 3 respondents indicate no knowledge of this practice.

When asked which group experiences the greatest amount of discrimination, again the overwhelming majority, 173 or 77.8 percent, of the respondents state that the Canadian Indians are the most obvious victims. Twenty-seven respondents, or 15.3 percent, state that East Indians, probably including Pakistanis, are the subject of the greatest amount of discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto.

In the youth sample, 81.5 percent (44) of the respondents agree that other visible minorities do encounter discriminatory situations in this city and the Canadian Indian is reported to be the likeliest victim by two-thirds of this group.

#### Comparison with Blacks

We then asked respondents to compare the amount of discrimination against other visible groups with that experienced by blacks. Most respondents, 65.2 percent, state that Canadian Indians are subject to the greatest amount of discrimination and that this amount is even greater than that experienced by blacks. Only a few respondents feel that other visible minorities receive either 'much less' or 'somewhat less' discrimination than blacks.

A small number of our respondents, 15.5 percent (32), report that they personally have been victims of discrimination by members of other non-white groups in Metropolitan Toronto.



Younger blacks have not experienced this as a problem. In most instances, the incidents involved the exhibition of a "superior attitude" toward the black, or a "refusal to mix with blacks".

(i) The Youth Impression

Black youth, 81.5 percent (44), realize that other minorities also suffer discrimination and prejudice. Two-thirds (27) of this group feel that the Canadian Indian is the most obvious victim and that he must endure 'about the same' (36.6 percent - 15), or 'somewhat more' (24.4 percent - 10), discrimination than the black person.

(ii) The 'Non-Black' View

Almost 90.0 percent of the non-black respondents report awareness of the incidence of discrimination against other visible minorities. Most respondents, 69.0 percent, also believe that Canadian Indians are the victims of the greatest amount of discrimination. Approximately one-third of these respondents feel that the degree of discrimination experienced by Canadian Indians is 'about the same' as that experienced by blacks; but almost two-fifths (37.8 percent) believe that they experience 'somewhat more' or 'much more' discrimination than do blacks.

(c) Awareness of Prejudices Among Black Groups

A subject which continuously arises in any general discussion of the black population in Metropolitan Toronto is



that of a lack of unity. Respondents in our leadership group repeatedly refer to the problem of divisiveness in the black population. Winks and other writers have also referred to the inability of the black population to come together, hammer out common policies and programmes for attacking discriminatory practices in the community. This problem is also seen as a major obstacle to the development of a cadre of black leaders who would provide the skills necessary for helping blacks to achieve their legitimate rights in Canadian society.

Recognizing the sensitive nature of the problem, we nevertheless decided to ask respondents if they were aware of any prejudices between various black groups ... American born blacks, West Indians, Canadian born blacks, including Nova Scotians, and Africans.

From their responses, it is apparent that considerable numbers of ordinary citizens are aware of this attitude. A total of 136 respondents, or 65.1 percent of the 210 members of the adult black sample, are aware of prejudice and a hostility between some black groups.

Some comments are revealing:

"Black groups discriminate against each other because of an insecurity."

" ... part of human make-up. Jealousy, not discrimination, is responsible. For example, Canadian blacks resent West Indians who come and get their jobs."

"There are cultural differences. North Americans are more secure and so more tolerant, even more submissive to abuse. (This causes) resentment on the part of the immigrating black."

"I applied on several occasions to get into Jamaican Canadian Association and never received a reply."

"Prejudice between various black groups now exists but will become less evident in the future."

As indicated above, most respondents indicate some awareness of antagonistic feelings between various black groups in the city. A considerably larger percent of Canadians (85.7 percent) than of West Indians (61.1 percent) acknowledge this situation.

TABLE 44      AWARENESS OF INTER-BLACK PREJUDICE

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	136	65.1
No	59	28.2
Unsure	1	0.5
No opinion	13	6.2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	209	100.0

In the youth sample more than two-thirds express an awareness of this problem. Many examples are given to demonstrate the extent and types of 'in-prejudice'. But optimism exists at the same time.

"The problem will most definitely be overcome soon now that attempts are being made to understand and communicate with each other."

Two-thirds of the non-black respondents also indicate an awareness of the incidence of some degree of prejudice among the various groups which comprise the black population of Metropolitan Toronto.

## CHAPTER VII

### GENERAL SUMMARY

This summary is a terse statement of the findings elaborated in Chapters IV, V, and VI. The reader is provided with a concise account of the attitudes and experiences of the people involved in this study of discrimination.

#### 1. General Summary of Findings

##### A. Characteristics of the Adult Black Sample

1. Age - The adult black sample is relatively young; the modal age of respondents is between 30 and 39 years of age (44.0 percent). Fifty-four percent are married; 34.0 percent are single, and 12 percent are separated, widowed or divorced.
2. Education Levels - This is a fairly highly educated group ... the largest single group, 36.9 percent, had achieved between grades 10 and 12, but the next largest group, 22.7 percent, had completed grade 13 or one or more years at a community college.
3. Incomes vary considerably - The modal group, 36.0 percent, earns between \$6000 and \$9000, but a sizeable group, 13.2 percent, earns in excess of \$15,000 per year.
4. Employment Situation - Occupationally, the group covers a wide range of types of employment. The modal group is the "professional technical" (29.1 percent) followed by "clerical"



(22.3 percent), and "skilled crafts" (15.3 percent). Under-skilled labour (2.0 percent) is likely under-represented in this sample.

5. Place of Birth - Most respondents were born in the West Indies (71.4 percent), but small numbers were born in Canada (16.7 percent), in Africa (8.6 percent), and in the United States (1.9 percent). Africans are probably over-represented because of the influx of students included in the sample; Americans appear to be somewhat under-represented. Most immigrants have been in Canada between four and six years, but a sizeable number (21.5 percent) have been in the country more than ten years.

#### Residence and Neighbourhood

6. Reason for Coming to Toronto - The largest single group of immigrant respondents (40.4 percent) came to Toronto because relatives or friends were already living in the city; others immigrated because of educational opportunities, economic opportunities, and preferences for an urban environment.

7. Residential Area - Most blacks (137) in our sample live in the downtown area, but a considerable number (32.9 percent) live in the suburbs. Approximately half of the immigrant blacks expect to remain in Canada (49.1 percent) and more than one-third (34.5 percent) expect to return to their home country.

8. Involvement in Community Life - A high percent of respondents (77.0) are involved in some aspect of community life.

The church is seen as the most important organization by 32.1 percent; a somewhat larger number (33.6 percent) view a social or recreational organization as most important. More than half of these respondents are involved in one or two different organizations.

B. Predominant Attitudes Toward Community Institutions\*

9. Concerning Education - Forty-two percent of the respondents agree that teachers do, in some instances, discourage black students who would like to pursue academic subjects. Almost two-thirds of the youth sample feel that some teachers discourage black youth. Most non-black respondents (57.7 percent) do not agree with this assessment.

10. Concerning Employment Opportunities - Job opportunities following graduation ... Black respondents feel only "fairly positively" regarding job opportunities ... although in general, this feeling becomes slightly more positive as the education level rises. Youth respondents generally agree with these assessments. The non-black respondents are somewhat more positive in their attitudes regarding job opportunities for black graduates from the school system.

11. Occupations for which blacks should prepare themselves ... Respondents in all samples, black, youth and non-black agree that there should be no restrictions upon black youth ... they should prepare themselves for any occupations they desire.

\* In most cases the impressions in table form are gleaned from the principal sample - the black adult population. Unless otherwise indicated, reference is made only to those with definite opinions and statistics are related in percentage.

However, most respondents favour preparation for employment in the professional-technical categories.

12. Concerning the Media

	<u>% Favourable*</u>	<u>% Unfavourable*</u>
Daily Press	25.0	70.0
Black Press	56.0	36.7
Television	40.0	58.8

\*Percentage of Black Adult Sample

13. Concerning Social Agencies - The largest number of respondents (40.2 percent) feel that blacks should use the services of the existing community agencies. Only 16.3 percent feel that blacks should develop and use their own community services. Almost half of the Canadian respondents (48.6 percent) feel that there should be a choice in using either type of service. Most youth (65.0 percent) indicate that they should have a "choice" in the use of community services. The non-black sample generally agrees with the adult blacks ... however, only 2.0 percent suggest that blacks use exclusively black community services.

14. Effectiveness of The Ontario Human Rights Commission

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Youth</u>	<u>Non-Black</u>
Positive Attitude*	69.2 P.C.	72.0 P.C.	84.8 P.C.
Negative Attitude*	29.6 P.C.	28.0 P.C.	15.2 P.C.

\*Percentages relate only to those responding to the question.



15. Concerning the Law - Are the Toronto Police fair in their treatment of the black population?

	<u>Adult opinion</u>	<u>Youth opinion</u>	<u>Non-Black opinion</u>
Generally fair	24.6 P.C.	13.0 P.C.	53.8 P.C.
Generally unfair	50.7 P.C.	75.0 P.C.	23.1 P.C.

16. Concerning the Courts - Less than half of the black respondents replied to this question, but of this group, 39.1 percent agree that the treatment of citizens generally by the courts is "fair". Another 27.2 percent feel that treatment is "poor".

(a) Attitudes toward treatment of blacks by the courts are even more negative. Of the 111 respondents who replied to the question, 22.6 percent feel that the treatment of blacks is "poor" and another 33.3 percent feel it is "very poor".

The youth sample is somewhat more positive in its assessment of treatment of blacks by the courts ... the non-black sample makes little distinction between attitudes toward treatment of blacks and citizens generally.

### C. A Look at Discrimination

17.	General Character	Subtle	Overt
		89.8 P.C.	7.3 P.C.

Youth and non-black respondents agree that discrimination in Toronto is generally subtle.

18. The following table summarizes general perceptions regarding discrimination perceived by black respondents.



TABLE 45 DOES DISCRIMINATION EXIST? HAS IT INCREASED/DECREASED?

Area of Concern	% Yes	% No	% Increase	% Decrease	% About the same
Jobs	87.4	6.8	26.9	37.0	31.3
Housing	82.9	8.8	19.2	43.8	27.9
Community Agencies	60.0	10.8	14.9	33.7	36.6
Commercial Services	61.2	24.6	12.7	38.0	38.5

More Canadian born blacks than West Indians agree that employment discrimination has decreased. Few non-black respondents, only 13.5 percent, believe that employment discrimination has increased during the last three years.

19. Perceptions of Discrimination in Various Areas - All black respondents, adult and youth, agree that discrimination exists, at least to some degree, in Metropolitan Toronto. The largest number of respondents, both black and non-black, state that most instances of discrimination involve housing and employment. Smaller numbers perceive discriminatory attitudes in health services, the police and courts, in social service agencies, in commercial establishments, in educational institutions, in immigration procedures, and in Canada Manpower practices.

(a) Employment

The largest single group of respondents (40.1 percent) feels that 'some' discrimination exists in employment ... but an almost equal number (36.2 percent) believe that a 'great amount' of discrimination exists in employment. More West Indians, (39.5 percent) than Canadians (14.3 percent) support this view.

Most youth respondents agree that 'some' discrimination exists in employment, but the largest group of non-black respondents (41.5 percent) believe that 'very little' or 'no' discrimination exists therein.

(b) Housing

Housing discrimination involves primarily a refusal to rent; few respondents report difficulties in buying a house. The largest single group of black respondents (45.4 percent) believe that 'some' discrimination exists in housing ... an additional 22.9 percent believe that a 'great deal' exists. Only 8.8 percent suggest that 'none' exists. Of this group, 43.8 percent infer that discrimination has decreased during the last three years. The non-black sample is fairly evenly divided on this question.

(c) Community Services and Commercial Agencies

Small numbers of respondents feel that a 'great deal' of discrimination exists in community service agencies and commercial establishments. Sizeable numbers, 10.8 percent and 24.6 percent respectively, state that no discrimination exists in these categories of community life.

20. Personal Experiences with Discrimination

Personal Experience	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>
	<u>58.9 P.C.</u>	37.8 P.C.	3.3 P.C.

A total of 123 black respondents (58.9 percent) report having personally experienced discrimination in some form in

Metropolitan Toronto. Slightly more "white collar" workers (62.2 percent) than "blue collar" workers (56.5 percent) indicate experiences of discriminatory treatment. Most discrimination occurs in relation to renting a house or in employment situations.

A similar percent of the youth sample also experienced discrimination, but primarily in the school system. Some youth also report discriminatory treatment from the police.

21. Reactions to Discrimination - Most respondents who report personal discrimination were either 'angered' (41.2 percent) or 'upset' (28.4 percent) by the situation. Smaller numbers reacted with 'acceptance' or 'tolerance' (11.8 percent) or simply 'ignored the behaviour' (7.8 percent).

22. Action Taken Regarding Discrimination - Only sixty-two respondents of the 123 who experienced personal discrimination actually took some action following the particular incident, and 19.3 percent of these merely discussed the incident with a relative or friend. Only 12 respondents, or 10.1 percent, reported the matter either to the Ontario Human Rights Commission or to a superior (or in the case of housing discrimination, to the superintendent). No action was taken by 47.9 percent of Black respondents. In most instances when a complaint was expressed, no satisfactory solution resulted.



D. Feelings About People and Relationships

23. Satisfaction with Black/White Relationships - A generally high level of satisfaction is reflected in these findings.

Almost one-half of the black sample (47.1 percent) expresses satisfaction with the relationships between blacks and whites in Toronto. However, the second largest category (32.4 percent) indicates neutral feelings. Specific areas of black/white relationships reveal a generally high level of satisfaction and approval in the following areas ... interracial friendships, 86.1 percent; interracial dating, 63.5 percent; interracial marriage, 46.9 percent; and the adoption of children by the other racial group, 49.3 percent.

The youth sample is largely neutral in its general feelings, but 96.3 percent approves interracial friendships. Reactions to the other areas, interracial dating, marriage, and the adoption of children by the other racial group, varied only slightly from those of the adult sample.

The non-black sample reflects the greatest degree of approval encountered in the three samples ... three-fourths support interracial dating, 69.8 percent approve of marriages between blacks and whites, and the cross racial adoption of children is considered positively by 67.0 percent of non-black respondents.

24. Suggestions for Improving Black/White Relationships - Suggestions by the black respondents were scattered with none



receiving more than 20.0 percent of the 199 replies. The largest group, 19.6 percent, advocates 'exposure to the life-styles of others'. The second largest group, 18.0 percent, feels that 'greater understanding' is required. Others suggest that whites should be educated about blacks, that there is a need for 'shared community involvement', and for 'open-mindedness'.

Non-black respondents also express a variety of suggestions for improving relationships. More than half of these respondents (55.3 percent) agree that a need exists for 'shared community involvement' and 'developing greater understanding'. The youth sample tends to agree with both adult groups.

25. Attitudes - Respondents tend to like the neighbourhoods in which they live. A big majority, 79.3 percent, 'like' or 'like very much' their neighbourhoods; only six respondents, (2.9 percent), dislike their neighbourhoods. Most respondents, (85.5 percent), also prefer life in Canada to that of the United States (8.5 percent).

26. Attitudes Toward Increased Immigration - A substantial majority of black respondents (58.6 percent) favours increased numbers of black immigrants to this city. An additional group of 29.0 percent favours 'with reservations' the arrival of additional immigrants. Only 5.2 percent do not want increased black immigration.

More West Indians (62.7 percent) than Canadian blacks (34.2 percent) favour increased black immigration. Two-thirds

of the youth sample would like increased black immigration. Less than a third (32.1 percent) of non-blacks want increased immigration without reservations; however, 52.8 percent favour it 'with reservations'.

27. Desirability of Maintaining Former Way of Life - Most respondents (73.4 percent) agree that it is desirable for the black immigrant while living in Canada to maintain some of the attitudes and ways of life of his home country. Only 16.9 percent disagree. Youth are even more strongly committed to maintaining some aspects of the former ways of life ... 86.8 percent concur with the view of the adult population.

28. Community Acceptance of Aspects of Black Culture - Most respondents indicate their belief that members of the general community accept, in varying degrees, certain aspects of black culture ... entertainment, food, and appearance. Youth and non-black respondents for the most part feel the same way.

29. Awareness and Interest in Maintaining Culture - Virtually all the black respondents (98.5 percent) believe that blacks are, at least to some degree, interested in maintaining some aspects of black culture. The need for the 'security of involvement in black culture and history' is stressed. Of the blacks who have 'only a minimal interest', the lack of 'education about black history' is the most frequently mentioned explanation.

Most youth agree that blacks have some degree of interest in their history and culture. Many non-black respondents (40.0 percent) feel that blacks have 'very little' interest in maintaining their old culture. Only one-fourth believe that a 'great deal of interest' exists.

30. Awareness of Intra-Black Prejudices - Almost two-thirds (65.1 percent) of the black respondents report awareness in varying degrees of prejudice between various black groups ... e.g. Canadian blacks versus West Indian blacks, Ontarians versus Maritimers, and between individuals from different Islands. The Leadership sample also reflects concern about divisiveness and a lack of unity in the black population.

31. Perceptions concerning other Visible Minorities - A large majority of black respondents (88.5 percent) report that members of other visible minorities suffer from discriminatory treatment in Metropolitan Toronto. The majority of this group (77.8 percent) feel that the Canadian Indian is the major victim of this discrimination. A smaller group (15.3 percent) suggests that East Indians are the object of the greatest amount of discrimination.

(a) Most black respondents feel that Canadian Indians experience even more discrimination than blacks themselves. A small number (15.5 percent) state that they personally have been the victims of discrimination by individuals of other visible minorities.

The youth group (81.5 percent) generally agrees with the adult group ... that discrimination does exist against other visible minorities. Most youth also believe that the Canadian Indian is the most frequent victim. The non-black sample concurs with the assessments above, but a larger percent feel that Canadian Indians experience 'somewhat more' or 'much more' discrimination than do blacks.



Action needed now

Get at the roots of racist bigotry  
Myths of prejudice

black skin is black

...eafastly encouraged Black unity,  
...acial discrimination and prejudice,  
...used abuse of authority by police and  
...others, sought to gain respect for Blacks, to  
develop community pride and awareness, to  
encourage acceptance of official government  
policy of multiculturalism. We have supported  
community causes and efforts, crusaded  
against injustice and neglect, launched projects  
such as the Smithers and Hemmingham Funds,  
sponsored Junior Achievement Awards...and  
more.

That is how we serve Canada's Black  
community. The Globe scarcely, if at all,

Dealing with prejudice

New direction

Toronto,

Black History Week

steps up the war on racism

Ontario's human rights boss

Blacks to

ave a history

BLACK  
EDUCATION  
PROJECT



## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### A. Conclusions

We attempt in this final Chapter to draw ideas, concepts, conclusions and suggestions for action from a vast amount of data collected and analyzed during the course of this Study. As indicated earlier, the data consists primarily of responses from the black adult sample and three sub-samples; youth, non-blacks, and the leadership group. In addition, we have utilized a considerable body of written materials including books, research reports, magazine articles, newspapers, etc. relating to the black experience in Canada and in Metropolitan Toronto. This chapter is based upon our analyses of this material and our interpretations of these findings for future action.

It should be reiterated that the responses obtained from our interviews are basically attitudes and perceptions of discriminatory treatment. Some questions may be raised, in at least a few instances, as to whether alleged discrimination is actually what it was perceived to be; other explanations are possible for what may appear to be discrimination. But it is not our intention to check or to attempt to prove whether or not discrimination based upon race or colour actually occurred; we are interested in the respondents' perceptions of discrimination

We began the Study with the assumption that racial discrimination does exist in Canada and in Metropolitan Toronto. The questions to be addressed, then, were not whether or not it exists, but rather the extent, nature and scope of discrimination there is as seen by respondents and the reactions of blacks to this form of treatment. The long history of discrimination against blacks in Canada, including the period of slavery during the 17th and early 18th centuries, as well as more recent experiences, leave little doubt that Canada and Toronto have not escaped racism. In spite of the progress made to date, effective action is still required to eradicate this blot from community and national life.

#### 1. The Experience of Being Black in Metropolitan Toronto

For many individuals being black in Toronto can be a positive experience ... one in which the individual feels accepted and valued by neighbours and colleagues. For example, most respondents like their neighbourhoods ... even in spite of the possibilities of occasional negative references to their colour. Neighbourhoods are generally seen as "warm and friendly" places. A surprising number of respondents also indicate positive feelings toward living in the city.

An unexpected degree of satisfaction is expressed by our respondents regarding relationships between the two racial groups. Although some differences exist, e.g. fewer women



express satisfaction than men, and fewer West Indians than Canadian born blacks, both black and non-black respondents express positive attitudes toward black/white relationships.

The Toronto experience may be instructive in that it demonstrates that, given certain conditions, a fairly acceptable degree of racial harmony can exist in a local community. The small black population, a general prosperity, and other factors may combine to produce a fairly "liberal" community. Certainly prejudice and racial hatred are not as virulent as may be found in most American cities, or even in some Canadian cities. Few of our respondents, for example, are concerned about the possibilities of ghettos developing in Toronto. Most respondents are certain that this type of development will never occur in Toronto.

Although suffering from a considerable degree of subtle racism, blacks have enjoyed many opportunities to actively participate in the life of the general community. Hill, in 1960, alluded to the participation of some blacks in many of the local community organizations, including Kiwanis, Lions, Masons, and other service clubs, and in business and professional organizations.

The relative lack of social barriers, as Hill pointed out, is perhaps "unique among Negro minorities on this continent". However, it appears that a price has been paid for this relative acceptance. Again, Hill noted that this integration and

acceptance of white middle class values isolates successful blacks from the problems faced by other blacks who have not made it into the middle class strata. These successful blacks then often deprecate their own black Canadian heritage and tend to accept white middle class ideals and values.

### Negative Reactions

The positive identification with the community outlined above must not lead to the conclusion that all blacks are satisfied with life in Metropolitan Toronto. Living in Toronto can also be an unsettling and disturbing experience. Almost 60.0 percent of our black adult respondents report having personally experienced one or more instances of discrimination in the city. While generally incidents are described as "subtle" rather than "overt" the distinction is often quite academic. Many individuals suffer humiliation, frustration, and bitterness as a result of treatment based upon no other factor than the colour of one's skin. Canadian racism has been labeled as "hypocritical" by some observers: until recently most of our respondents would have agreed.

The subtle nature of much discrimination is reflected in the lack of awareness by many respondents of the actual forms this phenomenon takes. For example, few respondents reported discrimination in buying a house. However, other informants, including some real estate salespeople, inform us that many mortgage companies are extremely reluctant and often refuse

to lend mortgage money to blacks. This hidden discrimination is not made known to the buyer, and is typical of the "polite racism" which many of our respondents suggest is so prevalent in Canadian society.

Toronto's black population has, during the last few years, undergone profound changes in size and composition, largely as a result of the increasing influx of West Indian immigrants and migrants from other parts of Canada. These individuals come to the city seeking a better life for themselves and their children. Changes have been accompanied by some alterations in the more or less subtle pattern of discrimination of the past. Blacks have recently been subjected to violence and intimidation.

## 2. Effects of Discriminatory Treatment

The discrimination to which blacks are subjected serves as a formidable barrier, not only to economic advancement, but also to full participation as a citizen in the life of the community. It will be recalled that most respondents rate opportunities for employment of black youth following graduation from high school, vocational schools and community colleges as "fair". University graduates are rated only somewhat better.

Some black leadership and youth respondents report that black students must work harder to get the same grades as white students; that many teachers make little effort to understand the problems of black students; and that black students are



frequently channeled into vocational types programmes. Others feel that it is of little use to work hard and achieve in school if opportunities for advancement are blocked on reaching the outside world.

### The Individual

Perhaps the most insidious results of discrimination are seen when we examine its effects upon the young black child. The York study documents these in detail; some of our respondents also emphasize the negative results of discrimination in the schools and in the general community. The high degree of apathy among students as reported by our adult black respondents is matched by the attitudes of the younger people.

The self image of the individual is of immense importance in the development of his personality and self respect. Damage to one's self image is a serious matter; blacks have had to deal with racially stereotyped images, promoted largely by a mass media which frequently professes its support of multiculturalism. These images consciously or unconsciously tend to perpetuate negative stereotypes of inferiority in the minds of both the general public and of the black population itself.

The concept of marginality then becomes operative. A minority group becomes marginal, according to Simpson, "when it largely shares the culture and aspirations of the host or dominant group, yet is blocked from full participation in that very society".



The destructive effects of this negative self image are readily apparent in much of the behaviour of blacks when subjected to discrimination. The unwillingness to complain, reported by most of the black respondents in this Study, and the failure to take any constructive action, may be viewed as evidence of self doubt and despair. Obviously, any programme designed to reduce discrimination must deal with this situation, first, by an attack upon the practice of discrimination itself, and, second by rebuilding initiative and self respect where necessary in the black population.

### 3. Awakening Interest in Black History and Culture

As indicated earlier, the contributions of blacks to the history and development of Canada have not been adequately recorded and made available to either blacks or to Canadians generally. The implications of this state of affairs for the development of a positive sense of identity and individual dignity are fairly obvious. The majority population, through its control of education and the mass media, has, to a large extent, denied the black population this essential ingredient.

For example, it is doubtful that more than a handful of either blacks or whites are aware of the contributions of the Abbott family including the fact that Dr. Anderson R. Abbott, black physician, was in 1867, acting resident physician of

Toronto General Hospital, and later, coroner of Kent County. Or that a black man, Mr. A. Hubbard was acting mayor of Toronto for a time in the early part of the 20th century. Many other blacks, both men and women, were actively involved in developing organizations and in improving the lot of blacks in this city.

It is important that the loss of knowledge of the contributions made by blacks be restored. A considerable number of black respondents report varying degrees of interest in learning about their history and cultural heritage. Fortunately, some limited efforts are being made to change the present situation. Several attempts are currently underway to develop programmes emphasizing black history and culture. These include a black theatre group which produces plays by black writers, a black dance group, a book store which emphasizes black history, culture, and aspirations, and other similar ventures.

But these are small and limited efforts. A large endeavour, financed by members of the black community and by generous support from local, provincial and federal governments, is required. The development of a strong sense of black identity may well be crucial to the morale of the black population and to the increased effectiveness of its contribution in helping to solve some of the critical problems facing Canadian society in the immediate future.

4. Community Service Organizations: How Effective Are They?

As indicated earlier in this Report, most black respondents do not want the development of extensive new black organizations and services. These respondents want first to be served by, and to participate fully in the community organizations which serve the general public. Second, they want to have some choice in the types of services they receive. This, of course, means that some exclusively black services are also desired ... otherwise no choice is possible.

Only small numbers of respondents favour the development or extension of exclusively black organizations and agencies. The latter group probably reflects the fact that for many newly arrived immigrants, all black organizations may serve the purpose of easing the initial adjustment to life in a new situation.

Although opinion varies concerning the effectiveness of community services, most respondents feel that agencies are doing a fairly satisfactory job. What is needed is additional input from blacks if services are to relate more effectively to the needs of the black population.

Other respondents believe that many community agencies serve the black population well, but that these agencies are not trusted. The addition of black staff members would help allay this problem, e.g. black teachers in the school system, black social workers in social service agencies etc.



There is, according to our leadership respondents, a great need for getting blacks into positions of power in community agencies. They could then influence the policies and practices of these agencies and ensure that the needs of the black population would be met.

### Black Organizations

Many black organizations are severely criticized by members of the leadership group for their orientation toward "too much emphasis upon dinners, dances, and commercial projects". (See Chapter III). Black organizations, according to these respondents, should become more fully engaged in providing needed services to black youth and to the black population generally.

Obviously there is a continuous role for black organizations in certain areas of community life. Many other ethnic groups have invested large sums of time and money in teaching their own history and culture to their children. It is important that blacks support the Black Education Project, the black theatre groups, and other similar service ventures. New and different programmes to meet the needs of black children and adults for education in their history and culture may also be necessary.

Some of our respondents suggest, however, that participation in all black groups may also serve to keep the black newcomer isolated and alienated from the general community,



and dependent upon the black group. This is, of course, not an exclusively black problem; all immigrants encounter this situation to some degree.

Prospects of separateness do not appear to concern most of our respondents. The thrust of their concern is integration, and they appear to be saying that they want acceptance in the community generally. It is important that both processes proceed together; building pride and an awareness of black history, culture, and achievements, must combine with an active involvement in the total life of the community.

#### 5. Role of the Ontario Human Rights Commission

The Ontario Human Rights Commission is rated favourably by approximately two-thirds of the black respondents, and by an even larger percent of non-black respondents. But it too has had its critics. Basically, black respondents feel that the organization is doing a fairly good job, but it is limited by its mandate as a government agency.

However, with one or two notable exceptions (such as a brief presented by the N.B.C. in 1971), the black population has not consistently demanded that the provincial government expand the powers of the Human Rights Commission. The Commission needs enlarged staff and other resources necessary for it to deal more effectively with the multi-faceted aspects of discrimination in Ontario. It will continue to be limited

in its struggle against discrimination, as suggested by some of our respondents, in the absence of strong support from the black community.

New legislation is also necessary. For example, legislation has recently been enacted in Manitoba which extends the area in which discrimination is prohibited to include the purchase of property, membership in professional organizations, marital status, source of income, and political beliefs. The Act requires compensation for lost wages in the case of employment discrimination. Fines for individual violators of the Act are \$100.00 to \$1000.00, and \$500.00 to \$5000.00 for businesses, unions, etc. Many states in the United States have passed legislation prohibiting any employer doing work under contract by a government agency to discriminate on the basis of race, creed, colour, sex and other non-essential requirements. It is time that the Ontario government enact similar legislation, and empower the Ontario Human Rights Commission to enforce these provisions.

Certainly, the Commission does not have a very high "visibility" rating during this period of rising racial tensions. Not only must this organization be strengthened, but its image must also be projected far more effectively into public awareness and consciousness.

## 6. The Media

There is little doubt that the media play a very important part in the formation of ideas and opinions in modern societies. An examination of its role in promoting sound human relations is therefore crucial. Our respondents suggest that, in general, the media has not adequately performed this task. Even the black press, while given higher marks than the daily press, radio or television, is still accused of failing to promote more positive relationships between the various racial groups in the city.

There is obviously a need for the use of vastly increased numbers of blacks and other visible minorities in the media. Black newspaper reporters, newscasters, disc jockeys, television personalities, etc. are, with few exceptions, conspicuous by their absence. When Torontonians see a black face on television, they can be fairly certain that they are viewing an American station. Even the Ontario Education Communications Authority, a provincial government agency, rarely uses black or Asian actors, including children, in its educational video-tape and other television programmes.

A Study of visible racial minorities in advertising in the mass media, conducted by Dr. Frederick Elkin<sup>18</sup> of York University in 1971, noted that blacks are rarely used in radio, or television commercials. Neither are black models, with rare exceptions, used in the catalogues or newspaper advertisements

18. Elkin, Frederick "The Employment of Visible Minority Groups in Mass Media Advertising"

of the major stores serving the city. This is in sharp contrast to the changes which have occurred in American commercial practice.

Since the mass media play an extremely significant role in the development of our views, attitudes and opinions of the world, it is essential that an accurate picture of the nature of that world, is reflected. The population characteristics of Toronto have drastically changed during the last few years. If we examine much of the material which is projected in its broadcasts and in its news columns, the media appear not to have noted what was actually happening in the world.

#### 7. Lack of Unity and Problems of Leadership

The findings of this Study suggest that the lack of unity in Canada's black population as discussed by Winks in his comprehensive history of Blacks in Canada, still exists in the 1970's. We did not ask specific questions about leadership to our black and non-black samples, but the question was discussed with the leadership group. In general, this group feels that very little leadership exists within Toronto's black population. Neither do most respondents in this group feel that a black "community" exists.

Casual observations as well as specific responses clearly indicate that several "communities" are alive within the black



population. This is a population divided by social class, economic levels, religion, place of birth, educational levels, and still other facets of social life. The single factor which categorizes all blacks into one group is skin colour ... that is, their "blackness".

Antagonisms between Canadian born blacks and West Indians, and between blacks from the various Islands in the Carribean, are among the most serious problems facing the black population in Metropolitan Toronto. Rivalry and hostility between various groups of blacks have probably resulted in reduced ability to combat prejudice and discrimination in the community. In any event, these attitudes must be openly faced and dealt with if the black population is to achieve a degree of unity in its struggle against racism.

Although often criticized by many respondents for their timidity, the black press has taken an active role in calling attention to the lack of unity in the black population. The Islander, in an editorial of March 1, 1974, noted that

"this is the time for constructive action. The time for patting ourselves on the back is gone. We must now be mature enough to take a broader look at the situation as well as ourselves".

Contrast has also indicated the need for unity and constructive action within the black population. In its editorial of June 14, 1974, the newspaper called upon blacks to consider the need for a

"single identity (of) all diverse parts"  
(causing blacks)

"to regard one another as being related  
regardless of their many differences".

Many other leadership respondents feel that "divisiveness and disunity" are the direct results of discriminatory practices which effectively "undermine efforts to develop a viable black community". Much time and effort is directed toward "fighting prejudice and discrimination, leaving little time for constructive action".

The activities of such groups as the Western Guard may generate what Breton<sup>19</sup> calls "cohesion for defensive purposes".

"The whole life of the community may be oriented toward defensive purposes, or one may find only a 'watch-dog' type of organization to identify and attempt to correct the occasional case of violation of civil rights."

The appearance in Toronto of a new organization, the "Toronto Committee Against Racism" may be one example of this type of development.

## 8. Role of Leadership

Winks noted that effective leadership among blacks did not exist during the pre-World War II period, largely because of the lack of consistent patterns of black/white relations in Canada. Racial barriers were continuously shifting, and it was

<sup>19</sup>. Breton, Raymond "Ethnic Pluralism and Social Equality"

difficult to find issues which "directly touched upon the lives of a great number of people". The recent increase in violent attacks upon blacks may dramatically change this situation. There is already some indication that black leadership may become more militant and aggressive in its reactions to the threats to black security and well being.

The new role of leadership may then involve working with local community organizations in developing the strength and skills necessary for effective action against discrimination. This requires the evolution of a new "sense of community", a commodity sadly lacking at present. Many 'leadership' respondents are quite aware of the limitations of existing black leadership. They recognize the appeal of a charismatic figure, a "Martin Luther King" type, but few expect this kind of leader to arise in the context of Canadian society.

Numerous respondents emphasize the importance of adequate recognition and support of some of the emerging younger leaders. Others stress the need for the development of skill and expertise in specific areas ... youth leadership, business, professions, organizational skills, etc. It is also recognized that potential young leaders must become known and respected in the larger Canadian society in order to gain sufficient power and prestige to effect change in the conditions of blacks.

In summary, black leadership of the future must be based upon the possession of the expertise and skills necessary to

help blacks function adequately in a highly sophisticated urban society. These skills include organizational ability, highly developed lobbying techniques, and the ability to work co-operatively with both blacks and non-blacks in the wider community. They include the ability to identify and articulate the problems of the black population, and skill to mobilize the various black groups into co-operative action against prejudice and discrimination in their many forms in Canadian society.



37% of us are foreign-born

# Racism Cannot

**Is Metro turning sour?**

**Racism Cannot be Rationalized**

**Metro's**

The hard reality is that West Indian kids are going through a hell of an experience

—Ken Jeff

# Metro's

The hard reality is that West Indian kids are going through a hell of an experience."

— Ken Jeffers

# Black community afraid to talk

ARE YOU A  
WEST INDIAN?

YES  
MANT

HOW LONG HAVE  
YOU BEEN HERE?

14 YEARS  
MANT

AREN'T YOU  
LONGING FOR A  
SEA BATH?

YES  
MANT--

BUT I NEED A  
COLOUR T.V. FIRST,  
THEN A STERIO,  
THEN A CAR, AND  
THEN A RAWTED  
HOUSE.



## B. Recommendations for Action

The considerations indicated in this Study suggest that action is required at two levels in order to mount a more effective struggle against racial discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto. First, recommendations are required which suggest changes to be made by the schools, the mass media, the police, and other community services and organizations. Second, recommendations are directed toward the black population itself. Both types of recommendations emerge primarily from the findings of this Study. None are novel or startling, but they present a starting point for renewed effort against a major social evil presently existing in Canadian society.

### 1. Community Institutions

#### (a) The Schools

Few citizens, black or white, are aware of and appreciate the immense contributions made by blacks in the development and growth of Canada as a nation. It is recommended:

1. that the school boards of Metropolitan Toronto (East York, York, North York, Scarborough, and Toronto) give serious consideration to correcting a long standing gap in the education of all children ... that is, the omission of the contributions made by blacks to the growth and development of Canada. This step should be taken in full consultation with black scholars and citizens who can contribute to the development of teaching materials. The contributions of all immigrant groups should be included in this programme.

The increasing numbers of blacks and other racial minorities entering the school systems of Metropolitan Toronto have created a totally new situation for teachers and administrators. As a result, there has been some constructive action; however, our respondents suggest that much remains to be done. Some teachers apparently still engage in discriminatory treatment - channeling blacks into vocational and other "dead end" courses, and assuming that all blacks are "slow learners". The following recommendations are directed toward this and other problems. It is recommended:

2. that all school boards in the metropolitan area initiate, in consultation with black leaders, a programme designed to inform teachers of the special problems, and the historical and cultural backgrounds of black students, particularly West Indian students. It should also take into consideration the difficulties of the West Indian parent as he or she attempts to cope with the problems of rearing children in a different social climate.
3. that all school boards review their policies regarding the hiring of teachers, guidance counsellors, social workers, psychologists, etc. to ensure that hiring practices reflect the ethnic composition of the students and neighbourhoods in which the schools are located. This may mean hiring teachers with special qualifications suited to meeting the needs of black and other minority children. These individuals may not necessarily possess the academic degrees now required for certification as professional teachers.



4. that a concerted effort be made by local school boards in Metro Toronto to recruit black teachers for their schools, and promote qualified blacks to positions of responsibility, i.e. principals, consultants, department chairmen, inspectors, superintendents, and other administrative officials.
5. that meaningful teacher exchange programmes be established between local school boards with schools in the West Indies such as the Commonwealth Teacher Exchange Programme. This step would enable local teachers to learn the racial and cultural backgrounds of children who migrate to Canada and to Toronto. It would also enable teachers in the West Indies to learn the Canadian system, and improve their ability to prepare West Indian children and their families who are potential migrants for more effective adaptation to Toronto schools.

The improvement of the quality and appropriateness of education in Ontario and in Toronto will require action at both the provincial and local levels. It is recommended:

6. that the Ministry of Education authorize a follow-up study of bias in textbooks used in Ontario Schools.

The McDiarmid and Pratt Study, published in 1971 indicated a considerable degree of racial stereotyping and other negative references to racial minorities. The proposed study would determine to what extent these negative references have been eliminated from textbooks and replaced with materials which accurately portray the contributions of all groups to the development of Canada and of Ontario.

7. that the Ministry's bursary and assistance fund be reviewed with the intent of

broadening and increasing financial support to deserving students, including immigrants who may not benefit from present provisions. The welfare assistance programme for students without parental support should also be reviewed with the view to encouraging immigrant children to remain in school.

8. that the Ministry of Education give serious consideration to requiring that all prospective teachers take one or more courses in human relations as a part of teacher education programmes. These courses should be developed in full consultation with the Ontario Human Rights Commission and appropriate leaders of black and other visible minority groups.
9. that the Ministry of Education appoint a special committee to work with the Ontario Education Communication Authority to design and prepare appropriate materials, video-tapes, films, slides, cassettes, etc. for use in helping teachers and children understand and appreciate the multi-cultural and multi-racial nature of the population of Metropolitan Toronto and of Ontario.
10. that blacks and other minority group children appear in educational books and other visual materials. While some improvement has been achieved in these areas, we are informed that, with rare exceptions, few black or other minority children are shown in these teaching aids. The Ontario Human Rights Commission and the Ontario Education Communication Authority should be consultants in this endeavour.

11. that the Ministry of Education and local school boards publicly declare a non-discriminatory policy toward the education of all children in the schools of this city and province. Appropriate practical applications of this policy must be clearly spelled out and enforced. The recommendations indicated above may be considered a beginning step in this process.

(b) The Police

The image of the police department as viewed by blacks is a very negative one. The police are accused of a considerable amount of discriminatory treatment of black citizens, including harassment and intimidation. Some respondents consider some policemen to be "out and out racists". It is recommended:

12. that the police department immediately initiate a programme designed to inform officers of the historical and cultural achievements of blacks, and of the need to understand different cultural patterns existing in the Toronto population. It is also important that policemen recognize the various lifestyles of immigrant groups and maintain a certain flexibility and discretion in their dealings with people of different backgrounds.
13. that the Community Relations Programme of the Police Department be re-instituted and strengthened as an aid in helping young blacks and other youth to cope more effectively with the problems of growing up in a complex and often confusing society. This programme, according to the testimony of many individuals and groups, has been invaluable and should not be sacrificed on the grounds of budgetary limitations.

14. that the Police Commission and top staff, in consultation with the Ontario Human Rights Commission and members of visible racial minorities, initiate a clear policy regarding acceptable behaviour by police officers in their contacts with all citizens and particularly with visible minorities. This policy must be unequivocally non-discriminatory, and it must be clearly understood that infractions will be severely punished. The harassment and intimidation of blacks and other racial minorities must be stopped; this policy must leave no doubt of its intent to accomplish this goal.

(c) The Courts

Courts of law, the institutions formally delegated by society as its instrument to deal with alleged law breakers, have come under increasing attack in recent years by a variety of groups, including the poor and racial minorities. The study, Sentencing in Canada, by John Hogarth, clearly documented some of the inequalities in sentencing and other forms of treatment by Canadian courts. Many of our respondents, black and non-black, express serious reservations about the fairness of the courts in general and, in particular, their treatment of black residents. It is recommended:

15. that the Attorney-General immediately appoint an independent committee of interested citizens to examine and make recommendations regarding the administration of justice in Ontario as it relates to blacks and other visible minorities. A committee of this type should include prominent black and non-black citizens, representatives of the Law



Society, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, minority organizations, and citizens representing the general public. This committee should be given all of the powers required for the adequate performance of its duties.

(d) The Ontario Human Rights Commission

Toronto, because of its focal point as an area of settlement for increasing numbers of newcomers from abroad, has special problems and needs. The large influx of blacks and Asians into the city has created unprecedented problems which require new and different solutions. The Ontario Human Rights Commission has played an important role in dealing with problems of discrimination against individuals because of race, sex, age, or nationality. In spite of its creditable record, however, it now needs new and additional powers. It is recommended:

16. that the Ontario Human Rights Code be amended to require that all provincial and municipal contracts relating to government authorized work by private businesses etc., contain a clause prohibiting discrimination by reason of race, creed, sex, national origin, etc. Many states in the United States have adopted similar laws; Ontario should act promptly to end this type of government condoned discrimination. The Commission should assume the responsibility to press for this change.
17. that the staff of the Commission be expanded to include full time community relations workers who would have the

responsibility of working directly with black and other ethnic groups on a day to day basis in an attempt to cope with problems of discrimination at the local level. These workers should be located in neighbourhoods and provide constant liason between the Commission and residents' groups.

18. that the public relations work of the Commission be greatly expanded. It is still surprising that large numbers of individuals and groups are not aware of the Commission, or if aware of its existence, do not have adequate knowledge of its programmes and purposes. The Chairman and members of the Commission should press for a greatly expanded budget for this purpose.
19. that the Commission give consideration to the importance of developing a Toronto focus due to the problems previously identified. The pattern followed by several voluntary provincial and national agencies might be considered ... that is, developing a Toronto branch of the provincial agency, with a local advisory committee. This committee would have the responsibility of identifying relevant needs, promoting relationships with local voluntary and municipal agencies, and interpreting the goals and work of the Commission to the general population.

(e) Other Government Organizations

There is also need for action by the federal, provincial, and local governments to examine employment practices within their own departments and agencies. There is considerable evidence that blacks and other visible minorities either do

not receive equal opportunities for employment in many government agencies, or, when employed, opportunities for promotion are severely restricted. It is recommended:

20. that the Ontario government and local municipalities examine their employment practices to determine the degree of discrimination within their various departments. The Ontario Human Rights Commission should be authorized to conduct this investigation in the Province of Ontario and to recommend necessary changes.

There is some evidence that discrimination in employment exists at the federal as well as at provincial and municipal levels of government. A federal government study of "Black Workers in the Civil Service" indicated that blacks in Nova Scotia received systematic discrimination at all levels of employment. It is time that the federal government review these findings, and investigate to what extent the pattern of exclusion documented in that Study exists in Ontario and in other provinces. It is recommended:

21. that the federal government examine its employment policies related to blacks and other visible minorities. This study should be conducted by the Public Service Commission in co-operation with the Federal Fair Employment Practices Department, and should include a study of all employment practices in all federal departments.
22. that the federal government should also require that all contracts authorizing work by private businesses contain a clause prohibiting discrimination by reason of race, creed, colour, sex, national origin, or other non-essential factors. The federal government should move rapidly to enact human rights legislation at the national level.



### Canada Manpower

Canada Manpower, a federal agency, received strong criticism from many of our respondents. This department has been accused of "filtering blacks into low paying jobs", of sending them to jobs "where it is known they will not be hired", and, more seriously, of being an organization that "breeds discrimination". These are serious charges, some of which are supported by evidence from other sources. It is recommended:

23. that the Department of Manpower and Immigration immediately begin a process of reviewing its operational procedures in order to ensure that blacks and other racial minorities are given fair treatment in their attempts to find jobs. Among other factors, this process should come to grips with the conflict between meeting the special demands of some employers (including the demand that no blacks be referred) and the pressure on the manpower counsellor to achieve a high level of job placement.

### Immigration

The problems of black immigrants have now become the subject of considerable discussion in the media. Respondents can point to a varied assortment of incidents suggesting that immigrants from some countries receive much better treatment than do blacks. The readiness of Canadian Immigration authorities, for example, to ease red tape in order to permit refugees from European countries to enter the country stands in sharp contrast to its treatment of blacks in similar circumstances. It is recommended:



24. that the Department of Manpower and Immigration, while debating its Green Paper on Immigration, begin a comprehensive examination of the attitudes of its officers and their methods of handling applications from blacks. Immigration policies may, in fact, be non-discriminatory; however, the behaviour of local officers is the crucial factor according to the perceptions of black immigrants. Immigration policies must be non-discriminatory at the level of the officer at the Airport and other points of entry.

(f) The Media

The data from this Study clearly point out the strong feelings of many respondents regarding the role of the media in the development of negative self images by the black population. The perpetuation of negative stereotypes of blacks has created for some a sense of inferiority. The media should immediately take steps to correct this situation. It is recommended:

25. that media owners, publishers, and editors consult with members of the black community regarding ways of improving this situation. Changes should include expanding the coverage of black news, including black achievements, the hiring of additional black reporters, increased black programming on radio and television, and programmes produced and edited by black writers and technicians.

(g) Community Service Agencies

Many black respondents feel that agencies in the community are performing fairly adequately, but some specific needs of the

black population are not being met. There is a need for additional input from the black population. The staffs and governing bodies of many of these agencies do not reflect the racial composition of their clientele or community. It is recommended:

26. that community service agencies (social and recreational services, hospitals and other health services, informal educational programmes, etc.) re-examine the effectiveness of their programmes in meeting the needs of black clients. This examination, to be done in consultation with blacks, should include attention to staffing, management, and appropriateness of services to the special needs of blacks.
27. that hospitals, universities, community colleges, social service agencies, and other voluntary organizations appoint capable blacks and members of other visible minorities to the governing boards of these organizations. It is also recommended that public institutions such as the Police Commission, the T.T.C., the various Planning Boards, and other municipal and provincial bodies, appoint qualified members of minority groups to these commissions and boards.

The majority of respondents in the Study seem to feel that the most important way to improve black/white relationships is to increase understanding and acceptance. Some methods for achieving this include a mutual participation in community life, open-mindedness, and a greater exposure to each others' lifestyles. It is recommended:

28. that various community institutions including churches, synagogues and other religious institutions, schools, service clubs, business and professional associations and other similar groups, consider specific methods of improving inter-group relationships within their own membership and/or employees and also in the community at large. The black leaders of various community groups should assume the responsibility of organizing a committee of people from diverse backgrounds in order to initiate this project.

## 2. Recommendations Directed Toward Blacks

The development of a black organization which will play a "watchdog" function is badly needed in Toronto. This voluntary organization could keep a watchful eye and report on all aspects of discriminatory treatment of blacks by the police, press, radio and television, employers, governmental agencies, immigration officials, and other organizations, public or voluntary. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, then blacks must be eternally vigilant. To some extent the black press has played this role ... so has the National Black Coalition, and other black organizations. But a more specific thrust is needed ... one which focuses singlemindedly and consistently upon the exposure of discriminatory attitudes and practices. It is recommended:

29. that representatives of the various black groups in Metropolitan Toronto meet to develop an organization which could take on the responsibility



for monitoring, publicizing, and demanding action when discriminatory practices are identified in the city. A group of this type could be extremely useful in working in co-operation with the Ontario Human Rights Commission in documenting and dealing with discrimination.

Throughout this Study, we have used the term "black population" because evidence suggests that the term "black community" does not adequately describe the existing situation. Many of our respondents have been quite critical of the antagonisms and suspicions occurring between the various sub-groups - Jamaicans, Trinidadians, Americans, Africans, Canadians, etc. In view of this situation the question must be asked: "Can the black population continue to afford the luxury of divisiveness and its accompanying weakness?"

Obviously, the time has arrived for this issue to be faced squarely and a renewed attempt made to develop a sense of community from these various factions.

Perhaps the recent upsurge in violent attacks upon blacks will bring an increased awareness of the fact that racists do not discriminate on the basis of place of birth, level of education, or any consideration other than the mere fact of one's blackness. It is recommended:

30. that representatives of various groups in the black population meet together in a renewed attempt to deal with intra-group prejudice and antagonisms which have been documented in this Study.



A persistent theme emerging from this Study is that of the need for blacks to participate fully in the economic, social, political, and educational aspects of community life. To some extent blacks are prepared to accept these opportunities when they are available; in other situations, they may not have the necessary interest, skill, and experience. It is important that black organizations be strengthened so that they can provide this choice of experience to black participants. It is recommended:

31. that the leadership of black organizations assess the ability and potentiality of the organizations to provide opportunities for black youth and adults to learn organizational and managerial skills. The development of strong black organizations may be considered as one step in preparing increasing numbers of blacks for full participation in the community as a whole.

One of the most pressing problems faced by black organizations is the lack of adequate financial support. In general, blacks do not contribute adequate funds required to build and sustain strong viable community organizations and programmes. However, the Canadian government is committed to a multi-cultural society. It contributes considerable sums of money to organizations involved in operating multi-cultural programmes. Black organizations must develop the skills and expertise required to write briefs, to lobby, and to engage in other activities necessary to obtaining funds. It is recommended:

32. that black organizations consider joining together to seek ways of securing government grants for the support of programmes designed to educate children and the adult population about black history, culture, and ideals. The experiences of some other groups could be tapped for this purpose.

In addition, in order to avoid total dependence upon government funding, black organizations should join together to set up workshops for the purpose of teaching fund raising skills. Some larger organizations, such as the United Way, might offer their expertise to this end.

Both black and non-black respondents express a great deal of awareness of discrimination experienced by Canadian Indians and other visible minorities. This knowledge could possibly form the basis for co-operation between blacks and other minorities in a mutual effort to end discrimination and prejudice. It is recommended:

33. that black leaders explore the possibility of joining with leaders of the Canadian Indian and Asian populations in an attempt to form a coalition for conducting a joint struggle against discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto.

Earlier in this Report, it was noted that few blacks are employed at upper levels of local, provincial and federal organizations and agencies. Neither are they found in more than token numbers in private industry and business. Black

leadership has been accused of being largely self-centred, and not using its influence to help other blacks secure more important positions. While ability is important, it is still largely true that many of those who attain higher level positions require the support of important and influential individuals. Successful blacks must end their isolation from the rest of the population and become personally involved in helping younger blacks who may be well trained but who, nevertheless, cannot secure employment in accordance with their education and ability. It is recommended;

34. that black professional men and women, leaders in business and industry, etc., come together to plan ways of encouraging and supporting young blacks in their efforts to secure positions for which they are well qualified, but restricted because of race and colour.

### 3. A Final Word

This Study documents the existence of a considerable amount of discrimination in Metropolitan Toronto. However, it also emphasizes that there is a surprising degree of satisfaction with the relationships between blacks and the majority white population. Youth respondents are somewhat less positive than adults in their attitudes towards relationships between blacks and other racial groups; on the other hand, they express a more optimistic view to the future.

The major outstanding problem, then, is discrimination but the opportunity exists for a major assault upon this



blot if the black population can be aroused to action. From all indications, many white individuals and groups stand ready to help. However, the black population should keep in mind the fact that freedom and liberty are rarely given; they must be won.

The current attacks upon blacks must not lead to apathy and disillusionment. Rather they must encourage a renewed determination on the part of the black population to resist, and together with others who believe in the ideals of freedom and justice, mount a sustained struggle against prejudice and discrimination in all of their many forms. The question is will black leadership rise to the occasion.

Finally, it is essential that if anything is to be accomplished to improve the situation as described in this Report, the black leadership of the various groups must be willing to submerge their differences in the interest of combatting problems affecting all blacks. The preceding recommendations are likely to remain merely recommendations in the absence of an organized effort to see that they are implemented by the voluntary and public groups to which they are addressed.

The author of this Report is personally committed to joining with others in an active attempt to ensure that this Report is not shelved and forgotten. Hopefully others, blacks and non-blacks alike, will join in a concerted effort directed toward the implementation of these recommendations.



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C O P Y

TORONTO  
THERE'S BEEN SOME CHANGES MADE

And You Weren't Asked

With increasing frequency the Western Guard Party has been receiving complaints from irate White Canadians fed up with the deterioration of their neighbourhood environment thanks to the Afro-Asian invasion. Predictably, third world immigrants quickly modify their environment to conform to the unsanitary, unsightly conditions left behind.

Predominantly affected by the present shockwave are White apartment dwellers where 200,000 Afro-Asians concentrate. In a few short years White Canadians have had their environment and quality of life drastically altered for the worse. In no cases were White Canadians even consulted as to their views on this radical alteration of their environment. To monitor the racial-cultural shock we have dispatched reporters to do a survey of Toronto's apartment complexes and fast-developing high rise ghettos.

As its racial complexion grows steadily darker, an apartment building goes through some familiar stages. The physical condition inside takes on a ramshackle appearance; garbage is strewn in the "curried" halls; elevators, walls, broadrooms are defaced and burned where applicable; cockroaches and other pests abound in the uncleanness; plumbing is regularly rendered inoperative through sewage backups as some employ toilets as garbage disposals. (Having never seen a toilet back home they are illiterate as to its proper use.) Furthermore break ins, muggings and rapes increase drastically, urine-contaminated swimming pools and smashed sauna baths abound; blaring African "music" at all hours makes peace and quiet an impossibility; underground parking garages are unsafe at any hour as assaults, rapes and vandalism skyrocket. To further insult White Canadians the Metro Police Department sends in "community relations officers" at \$15,000 a year to peddle guilt and condescending "tolerance" to the Whites and "human dignity" to the negroids. Feeling like foreigners in their own city, disgusted Whites seeking a decent environment to live in, often move out as soon as the lease expires. The slack is taken up by negroids as physically and racially the apartment becomes blacker and blacker.

Many of the apartments Afro-Asians have rendered uninhabitable for most Whites are in Toronto's Parkdale area, particularly along Jameson Ave. Other interracial dumps are concentrated in the areas of Vaughan Rd. and St. Clair, Eglinton and Marlee, Broadview and Cosburn, Bloor and Rusholme, and the recently fumigated St. Jamestown which encourages "swingers" to move in "just for the fun of it." Due to zoning considerations, apartment complexes are widely scattered and consequently so is the negroid population. Afro-Asian pockets develop in widely isolated areas such as Eglinton-Kennedy and in Bay Mills way out in Agincourt where negroid immigrants are moving into brand new apartments en masse.

A typical though pathologically pitiful situation is revealed in a White woman's desperate complaints to WGP researchers in Parkdale's

West Lodge apartments. "When we moved in six years ago there were only two black families in the entire building," she claimed. "Now we are one of only two Whites left on our floor. The place looks like Harlem. We'll just have to go through the expense of moving. I know I may sound prejudiced but I will say it again, it is the truth; these blacks just don't care, they just don't take care of the place, they just let it run down." This sad commentary is heard over and over from exasperated Whites.

Masochistic liberal brainwashing has put this guilt-ridden White woman on the defensive, having convinced her that her instinctual common sense and ordinary powers of observation and analysis constitute "prejudice". Similar liberal brainwashing via the boob-tube, newspapers and race-traitor politicians have disarmed the vast majority of White Canadians who, though enraged as their new neighbours, will twist themselves into spineless jellyfish to avoid life's worst fate - to be called prejudiced or bigoted.

Admittedly the White race has a small minority of irresponsible, lazy, shiftless types who will also run down and vandalize apartments. However, Afro-Asian immigrants to Canada represent the higher strata of their respective races, those with enough ambition to leave home and with enough money to buy a plane ticket. Aside from all considerations of irreparable damage to the White Canadian racial stock, the point is that even this cream of the crop of Afro-Asia is totally incapable of living at the level of traditional European-Canadian community standards. How would you like their lower class to come up, Whitey?

As in the United States, those too poor or too old are the ones that must suffer from enforced housing integration with the negro. Subsidized housing projects run by the Ontario Housing Corporation are fast filling up with negroes. Although they represent only 10% of Toronto's population, negroids often comprise from 25 to 50% of the population of subsidized housing units. These new "preferred" negroid immigrants directly displace life-long, tax-paying White Canadians whose need for rental assistance must now wait until imported negroes have been subsidized and molly-coddled to the satisfaction of the leaders of the "black community".

While the inundation of Afro-Asians into subsidized housing continues, the Ontario Housing Corporation now has a waiting list of 12,000 White Canadian senior citizens. The plight of the White senior citizen is indeed a shameful one, one that disgraces the spineless White population. Having been a law-abiding citizen, an honest worker, a loyal taxpayer, having "fought for King and Country, so that the Empire might endure" (at least that's how the WWI plaque in the old City Hall puts it) the senior citizen now looks to his people, his government for help. And now he finds he has to join the back of the lineup.

Even if the senior citizen does get in an Ontario Housing building, his troubles may only be beginning. In their mania to make "nice integratin' folks" out of our negroes, the OHC has indiscriminately placed senior citizens' buildings alongside buildings inundated with negroes. If you can't afford to go to Nassau on your pension cheque, the Canadian government has done you a favor. They have brought Nassau to you, minus the beaches and the gambling casinos. However, if you still like to gamble, you can do so. You can gamble with your life by walking around your building after dark.



Two such situations where senior citizens' apartments lie adjacent to negro-filled ones are at 220 Oak St. and 91 Augusta St. The latter is located beside the Alexandra Park Development. This entire area, heavily represented by negroes, has the distinction of being Toronto's first no-go area; especially the virtually all-black section known as Vanauley Walk. Nobody in their right minds takes a shortcut through there at night. Cab drivers absolutely refuse to pick up fares there. In the Ontario Housing buildings racemixing has reached epidemic proportions.

To conclude, how can Torontonians speak of "love" for their city when they calmly watch it go to the dogs via the Afro-Asian influx? Meanwhile, Canada has a housing shortage, an unemployment problem and Toronto has an overcrowded public transit system. The race-traitor politicians' cure is more Afro-Asian immigration.

Only the Western Guard Party has a sense of racial mission, proven guts and determined leadership to solve this problem. So, White people, if you are too intimidated to take an open stand, you can at least support your race by voting for the WGP candidate in your riding in the Toronto Municipal Election this December.

Help us now! Send your support to: WGP, Box 193, Stn J, Toronto M4J 4Y1 or phone 466-3446. (White Power Message: 961-6666.)



APPENDIX B

2.

Interview Schedule - Attitudes Re Discrimination in Toronto's Black Society

Questionnaire

Name and Code Letter of Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_

Number of Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Address: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Sex: M F 4. Marital Status:

0 - Less than 20

1 - 20-29

2 - 30-39

3 - 40-49

4 - 50-59

5 - 60 or over

0 - Married

1 - Single

2 - Sep/Div/Widowed

5. Children in Family Yes No

Number of children \_\_\_\_\_

Ages of children \_\_\_\_\_

6. Type of accommodation

0 - Single family

1 - Duplex

2 - Apt. Low Rise

3 - Apt. High Rise

4 - Townhouse

5 - Flat

7. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

7b. Now I would like to ask, approximately, what was your total household income during the last 12 months? It is not necessary to give the exact amount - just tell me the range in which your income falls.

(INTERVIEWER: Read list)

0 - under \$3,000

1 - \$3,000 - \$5,999

2 - \$6,000 - \$8,999

3 - \$9,000 - \$11,999

4 - \$12,000 - \$14,999

5 - \$15,000 - and over

6 - N/A

8. Achievement Level in School or University

- 0 - Less than Grade 6
- 1 - Grade 6 - 9
- 2 - Grade 10 - 12
- 3 - Grade 13 or Community College
- 4 - One or two years University
- 5 - B.A. Degree
- 6 - M.A. Degree or other advanced degree
- 7 - Other educational training \_\_\_\_\_

## 8b. Place of most recent educational experience \_\_\_\_\_

9. Birthplace

- 0 - Canada
- 1 - United States
- 2 - West Indies
- 3 - Africa
- 4 - Other

Province \_\_\_\_\_

## 10. (If you were not born in Canada) How many years have you lived in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

10b. \_\_\_\_\_ in Toronto? \_\_\_\_\_

10c. Why did you decide to come to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

Toronto? \_\_\_\_\_

## 10d. How long have you lived at your present address? \_\_\_\_\_

## 11. (If you were not born in Canada) Are you planning to remain in Canada or do you have plans to return to live in your homeland within the next 5 years?

- 0 - remain in Canada
- 1 - will return to home country

## 11b. Do you feel that the majority of Black immigrants to Canada plan to remain here or do they see living in Canada as a short term situation prior to returning their homeland?

- 0 - majority plan to stay in Canada
- 1 - majority plan to return to homeland



12. If you had the opportunity to live here or in the United States which would you prefer and why?

- 0 - Canada \_\_\_\_\_  
 1 - United States \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 - N.O. \_\_\_\_\_

13. In general, how do you feel about the area of the city in which you live?

- 0 - Like it very much  
 1 - Like  
 2 - Neutral  
 3 - Dislike  
 4 - Dislike very much  
 5 - No opinion

13b. Please indicate why you feel the way you do about the neighbourhood.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

14. There is some evidence that blacks, like many other new immigrants, are concentrating in certain areas of the city. Some people fear this trend may lead to all Black ghettos as found in American cities. Are you worried about this possibility?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_

14b. Please indicate why you feel as you do in this situation.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

#### 15. Membership in Voluntary Organizations

Do you belong to any of the following types of voluntary organizations?

- |  |           |          |
|--|-----------|----------|
| 0 - Churches or other religious groups           | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| 1 - Social or recreational organizations         | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| 2 - Ratepayers' or Tenants' organizations        | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| 3 - Labour unions                                | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| 4 - Business or Professional associations        | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| 5 - Social/Political organizations e.g. U.N.I.A. | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| 6 - Other (sp)                                   | Yes _____ | No _____ |

15b. Which one of these groups is most important to you? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

15c. How frequently do you attend meetings and participate in this organization?

- 0 - Regularly \_\_\_\_\_  
 1 - Less Regularly \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 - Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 - Not at all \_\_\_\_\_

# I. General Questions and Personal Experience

16. In this interview we are looking at attitudes regarding discrimination in Toronto society. To what extent do you feel that discrimination exists against Blacks in Toronto? Let's look at housing, jobs, social agencies, medical services, and commercial establishments (including stores, banks, and mortgage companies).

	Housing	Jobs	Social Agencies	Hospitals and other medical services	Commercial Agencies
A great deal					
Some					
Very little					
None					
N/A					

17. If you were to describe the discrimination in general, would you characterize it as - mostly overt \_\_\_\_\_ mostly subtle \_\_\_\_\_ (other description) \_\_\_\_\_

18. While living in Toronto have you ever experienced what you considered to be an act of discrimination based upon your colour?

(NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: If No proceed to question 25.)

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Unsure \_\_\_\_\_

19. If yes what did you experience this discrimination in reference to?

(INTERVIEWER: Allow Respondent to answer. Use list only as prompt. After Respondent answers, circle appropriate category. Circle as many as apply.)

0 - Housing - in renting and buying

1 - Neighbourhood - relationships with neighbours; shops, services, etc.

2 - Employment - at work and in placement agencies (e.g. Manpower)

3 - Schools or educational programmes - in situations involving self or family

4 - Recreational activities

5 - Religious institutions

6 - Hospitals and other services - e.g. telephone company

7 - Police

8 - Other (sp) \_\_\_\_\_

(INTERVIEWER: Note code number here in reference to Question 19) \_\_\_\_\_ 7.

20. Please explain the nature of the experience. Give a brief description of the situation indicating the place, circumstances, etc.

20 b. (If the experience involved a refusal of permission.) What was the reason given to you for your being refused? \_\_\_\_\_

21. How did you react to the instance of discrimination described above?

22. What action, if any, did you take in response to your feeling that you had been discriminated against? (for example, did you report the incident?)

0 - report the incident to a relative or friend

1 - report the incieent to police

2 - file a complaint to the Ontario Human Rights Commission

3 - consult with lawyer

4 - other (sp) \_\_\_\_\_

5 - no action taken

23. If the action taken included a report to the police, consultation with a lawyer, or a complaint to the Human Rights Commission, what happened as a result of your complaint?

23b. To what degree were you satisfied with the result of your action?

0 - Very satisfied

1 - Some degree of satisfaction

2 - Neutral

3 - Somewhat dissatisfied

4 - Very dissatisfied

Elaborate, if necessary \_\_\_\_\_

24. If no action was taken, why did you make this decision? \_\_\_\_\_



## II. DISCRIMINATORY SITUATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO OTHER PEOPLE

25. Have you heard about specific instances of alleged discrimination involving friends or relatives in Toronto during the last three years?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_

26. If yes, in what area of community life did this instance of discrimination occur?

- 0 - Housing
- 1 - Neighbourhood
- 2 - Employment
- 3 - Schools or educational programmes
- 4 - Recreational activities
- 5 - Religious institutions
- 6 - Hospitals and other services - e.g. telephone company
- 7 - Police (encounter with)
- 8 - Other (sp) \_\_\_\_\_

27. Please describe briefly the situation, indicating the place, circumstances, and reactions to the incident.

☐

a. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

☐

b. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

☐

c. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

28. What did you feel about the situation? a. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### III. LET'S LOOK AT SOME QUESTIONS AROUND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

29. Some critics state that many teachers discourage Black students from entering certain educational areas - for example, University courses? How do you feel about this

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Do not agree \_\_\_\_\_ No opinion \_\_\_\_\_

29b. Please elaborate \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

30. Research studies have indicated that some reading material in Ontario schools contains discriminatory references to Blacks and other racial minorities. Are you or your children aware of any of these references in the reading matter, etc., available in the schools?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_

Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

31. Some teachers feel that many Black students tend to have a negative attitude towards school. Do you agree with this feeling?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_

31b. Explain why you feel as you do. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

32. What is your attitude regarding the opportunities for Black youth to get jobs following graduation from

	High school	Vocational	Comm. Coll.	University
Very good				
Good				
Fair				
Poor				
Very Poor				

IV. JOB OPPORTUNITIES

33. During the next five years, in what areas do you feel that most Black Students should prepare themselves for employment?

(INTERVIEWER: Allow respondent to answer freely. Do not read list. Circle appropriate categories).

- 0 - Proprietor/managerial business management, etc.
- 1 - Professional/technical medicine, law, etc.
- 2 - Clerical
- 3 - Sales
- 4 - Service/recreation
- 5 - Transport/communication
- 6 - Craftsman/production
- 7 - Other (sp) \_\_\_\_\_
- 8 - No answer

JOB SITUATIONS

34. Some observers feel that many Blacks do not apply for jobs in some businesses and industries because they fear that they will not be hired. Have you ever wanted to apply for a job in business, industry or any other area but did not apply because of fear of being discriminated against?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

- 34b. If yes, what type of job was it \_\_\_\_\_  
and in what type of business or industry? (Name) \_\_\_\_\_

- 34c. Why did you not apply? \_\_\_\_\_

35. As a resident of Toronto, do you feel that you have ever been denied opportunities for promotions to higher positions because of your colour?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_

- 35b. If yes, please describe the incident \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_





VI. MEDIA

39. In general, what role do you see the printed media, (newspapers, etc.) playing in building (or destroying) better relations between the black and white communities?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- 39b. What role do you see Black publications (e.g. Contrast, Islander, Spear) as playing in this process?
40. What role do you see television playing in building (or destroying) better relations between the Black and White communities?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

VII. COMMUNITY SERVICES

41. What do you see as the purpose of the Ontario Human Rights Commission in the Black community?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
42. From your point of view, to what extent have human rights organizations been concerned about the treatment of Black citizens?
- 0 - very much concerned
- 1 - somewhat concerned
- 2 - neutral
- 3 - a lack of concern has been shown
43. Some observers have indicated that many Blacks will not make use of the services of agencies and organizations serving the entire community... for example, social and recreational organizations, etc. Do you believe that Blacks should make use of the existing social and recreational programmes in the community, or should Blacks develop their own social, cultural and recreational services?
- In general, Blacks should
- 0 - use existing services available in the community
- 1 - develop services for Blacks only
- 2 - have a choice of using Black only or general community services
- 43b. (If Respondent answers with 1 or 2) In which areas would you develop services for Blacks only?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

VIII. ATTITUDES

44. Do you feel that the amount of discrimination against Blacks in Toronto has increased, decreased or has remained about the same during the last three years?  
 Let's examine the areas of housing, jobs, community services and commercial-agencies.

	Housing	Jobs	Community Services	Commercial Agencies
Increased				
Decreased				
Same				

45. The Black population is increasing rapidly in Toronto. What is your feeling about the continuing numbers of Black immigrants arriving in our city?
- 0 - favour it
  - 1 - do not favour it
  - 2 - favour it with some reservations
  - 3 - no opinion
46. In view of your attitudes expressed above, please indicate your reasons for favouring or not favouring increasing numbers of Black immigrants coming to Toronto.
- 
- 
- 
- 
- 
47. In general, how satisfied are you with the way Black citizens get along with their white fellow citizens in Toronto?
- 0 - very well satisfied
  - 1 - satisfied
  - 2 - neutral
  - 3 - dissatisfied
  - 4 - very dissatisfied

48. What is your attitude towards social relationships between Blacks and Whites in the following areas?

	Friendships	Dating	Marriage	Adoption of Children
Approve				
Disapprove				
No opinion				

49. Have you ever been in a situation in which either Black or White individuals disapprove of your association or relationship with a White person?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_

- 49b. If yes, please describe.

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- 49c. How many times would you say this type of situation has occurred within the last year?

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50. What suggestions would you make for improving relations between Blacks and other Canadians living in Toronto?

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#### IX. THE BLACK CULTURE

51. Most ethnic groups are making strong attempts to maintain many of their old country's cultural values. Do you feel that it is desirable for black immigrants to attempt to maintain their former attitudes, behaviours and ways of life once they arrive in Toronto?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_

Comment briefly. \_\_\_\_\_

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52. In general, to what extent are black people in Toronto aware of and interested in their culture and history?

0 - A great deal

1 - Some

2 - Very little

3 - Not at all

Comment briefly. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

53. To what extent do you feel that the general community accepts specific aspects of Black culture, for example - music, dance, food, dress, hair styles.

	Entertainment Music & Dance	Food	Appearance: Dress & Hairstyles
Accepts Enthusiastically			
Accepts			
Neutral			
Do not accept			
No opinion			

X. REFERENCES TO OTHER GROUPS

54. In Toronto there are groups of Black people who have come from various places outside the city - the West Indies, the United States, Nova Scotia, Africa, Etc. Are you aware of any instances of prejudice between any of these groups?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ No opinion \_\_\_\_\_

55. If yes, how do you feel about these occurrences? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

56. In addition to Blacks, there are a number of other visible racial groups living in Toronto... e.g., East Indian, Canadian Indians, Chinese, Philippino, etc. Do you feel that members of these groups experience discrimination in Toronto?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Uncertain \_\_\_\_\_



56b. If yes, which of these groups do you feel experiences the greatest amount of discrimination?

0 - Canadian Indian

1 - East Indian

2 - Chinese

3 - Philippino

4 - Other (sr) \_\_\_\_\_

57. How would you compare the amount of discrimination experienced by this group as compared with Blacks?

0 - much less (than Blacks)

1 - somewhat less (than Blacks)

2 - about the same (as Blacks)

3 - somewhat more (than Blacks)

4 - much more (than Blacks)

58. Have you personally ever experienced any incidents of prejudice or discrimination by individuals of other racial groups in Toronto?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

58b. If yes, describe briefly. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

59. In general, what is your feeling about the relations between Blacks and other visible racial groups in Toronto?

0 - Very good

1 - Good

2 - Neutral

3 - Fairly bad

4 - Very bad

This completes the questionnaire but we would like to know whether or not there are any other areas of discussion which you might like to comment upon.

If you can give us the names and addresses of other friends and acquaintances whom you would like to see interviewed we would appreciate it.

General impressions and/or comments on the interview

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